



GENERALISSIMO STALIN

WAR SPEECHES

ORDERS OF THE DAY

AND

Answers to Foreign Press Correspondents
During the Great Patriotic War

JULY 3rd, 1941—JUNE 22nd, 1945

by

GENERALISSIMO STALIN

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RADIO BROADCAST, JULY 3, 1941

COMRADES, citizens, brothers and sisters, men of our Army and Navy!

My words are addressed to you, dear friends!

The perfidious military attack by Hitlerite Germany on our Fatherland, begun on June 22, is continuing. In spite of the heroic resistance of the Red Army, and although the enemy's finest divisions and finest air force units have already been smashed and have met their doom on the field of battle, the enemy continues to push forward, hurling fresh forces to the front. Hitler's troops have succeeded in capturing Lithuania, a considerable part of Latvia, the western part of Byelorussia and part of Western Ukraine. The fascist aircraft are extending the range of their operations, bombing Murmansk, Orsha, Moghilev, Smolensk, Kiev, Odessa, Sevastopol. Grave danger overhangs our country.

How could it have happened that our glorious Red Army surrendered a number of our cities and districts to the fascist armies? Is it really true that the German-fascist troops are invincible, as the braggart fascist propagandists are ceaselessly blaring forth?

Of course not! History shows that there are no invincible armies and never have been. Napoleon's army was considered invincible, but it was beaten successively by the armies of Russia, England and Germany. Kaiser Wilhelm's German army in the period of the First Imperialist War was also considered invincible, but it was beaten several times by Russian and Anglo-French troops, and was finally smashed by the Anglo-French forces. The same must be said of Hitler's German-fascist army of to-day. This army had not yet met with serious resistance on the continent of Europe. Only on our territory has it met with serious resistance. And if as a result of this resistance the finest divisions of Hitler's German-fascist army have been defeated by our Red Army, this means that it too can be smashed and will be smashed, as were the armies of Napoleon and Wilhelm.

As to part of our territory having nevertheless been seized by the German-fascist troops, this is chiefly due to the fact that the war of fascist Germany against the U.S.S.R. began under conditions that were favourable for the German forces and unfavourable for the Soviet forces. The fact of the matter is that the troops of Germany, a country at war, were already fully mobilized, and the 170 divisions brought up to the Soviet frontiers and hurled by Germany against the U.S.S.R.

were in a state of complete readiness, only awaiting the signal to move into action, whereas the Soviet troops had still to effect mobilization and move up to the frontiers. Of no little importance in this respect was the fact that fascist Germany suddenly and treacherously violated the non-aggression pact which she had concluded in 1939 with the U.S.S.R., regardless of the circumstance that she would be regarded as the aggressor by the whole world. Naturally, our peace-loving country, not wishing to take the initiative in breaking the pact, could not resort to perfidy.

It may be asked, how could the Soviet Government have consented to conclude a non-aggression pact with such perfidious people, such fiends as Hitler and Ribbentrop? Was this not an error on the part of the Soviet Government? Of course not! Non-aggression pacts are pacts of peace between two states. It was such a pact that Germany proposed to us in 1939. Could the Soviet Government have declined such a proposal? I think that not a single peace-loving state could decline a peace treaty with a neighbouring state even though the latter were headed by such monsters and cannibals as Hitler and Ribbentrop. But that, of course, only on the one indispensable condition—that this peace treaty did not jeopardize, either directly or indirectly, the territorial integrity, independence and honour of the peace-loving state. As is well known, the non-aggression pact between Germany and the U.S.S.R. was precisely such a pact.

What did we gain by concluding the non-aggression pact with Germany? We secured our country peace for a year and a half and the opportunity of preparing our forces to repulse fascist Germany should she risk an attack on our country despite the pact. This was a definite advantage for us and a disadvantage for fascist Germany.

What has fascist Germany gained and what has she lost by perfidiously tearing up the pact and attacking the U.S.S.R.? She has gained a certain advantageous position for her troops for a short period of time, but she has lost politically by exposing herself in the eyes of the entire world as a bloodthirsty aggressor. There can be no doubt that this short-lived military gain for Germany is only an episode, while the tremendous political gain of the U.S.S.R. is a weighty and lasting factor that is bound to form the basis for the development of outstanding military successes of the Red Army in the war with fascist Germany.

That is why the whole of our valiant Red Army, the whole of our valiant Navy, all the falcons of our Air Force, all the peoples of our country, all the finest men and women of Europe, America and Asia, and, finally, all the finest men and women of Germany—denounce

the treacherous acts of the German-fascists, sympathize with the Soviet Government, approve its conduct, and see that ours is a just cause, that the enemy will be defeated, and that we are bound to win.

In consequence of this war which has been forced upon us, our country has come to death grips with its bitterest and most cunning enemy—German fascism. Our troops are fighting heroically against an enemy armed to the teeth with tanks and aircraft. Overcoming numerous difficulties, the Red Army and Red Navy are self-sacrificingly fighting for every inch of Soviet soil. The main forces of the Red Army are coming into action equipped with thousands of tanks and planes. The soldiers of the Red Army are displaying unexampled valour. Our resistance to the enemy is growing in strength and power. Side by side with the Red Army, the entire Soviet people is rising in defence of our native land.

What is required to put an end to the danger imperilling our country and what measures must be taken to smash the enemy?

Above all it is essential that our people, the Soviet people, should appreciate the full immensity of the danger that threatens our country and give up all complacency, casualness and the mentality of peaceful constructive work that was so natural before the war, but which is fatal to-day, when war has radically changed the whole situation. The enemy is cruel and implacable. He is out to seize our lands watered by the sweat of our brows, to seize our grain and oil secured by the labour of our hands. He is out to restore the rule of the landlords, to restore tsarism, to destroy the national culture and the national existence as states of the Russians, Ukrainians, Byelorussians, Lithuanians, Latvians, Esthonians, Uzbeks, Tatars, Moldavians, Georgians, Armenians, Azerbaijanians and the other free peoples of the Soviet Union, to Germanize them, to turn them into the slaves of German princes and barons. Thus the issue is one of life and death for the Soviet State, of life and death for the peoples of the U.S.S.R.; the issue is whether the peoples of the Soviet Union shall be free or fall into slavery. The Soviet people must realize this and abandon all complacency; they must mobilize themselves and reorganize all their work on a new, war-time footing, where there can be no mercy to the enemy.

Further, there must be no room in our ranks for whimperers and cowards, for panic-mongers and deserters; our people must know no fear in the fight and must selflessly join our patriotic war of liberation against the fascist enslavers. Lenin, the great founder of our state, used to say that the chief virtues of Soviet men and women must be courage, valour, fearlessness in struggle, readiness to fight together

with the people against the enemies of our country. These splendid virtues of the Bolshevik must become the virtues of millions and millions of the Red Army, of the Red Navy, of all the peoples of the Soviet Union.

All our work must be immediately reorganized on a war footing, everything must be subordinated to the interests of the front and the task of organizing the destruction of the enemy. The peoples of the Soviet Union now see that German fascism is untamable in its savage fury and hatred of our native country, which has ensured all its working people labour in freedom and prosperity. The peoples of the Soviet Union must rise against the enemy and defend their rights and their land.

The Red Army, Red Navy and all citizens of the Soviet Union must defend every inch of Soviet soil, must fight to the last drop of blood for our towns and villages, must display the daring, initiative and mental alertness that are inherent in our people.

We must organize all-round assistance to the Red Army, ensure powerful reinforcements for its ranks and the supply of everything it requires; we must organize the rapid transport of troops and military freight and extensive aid to the wounded.

We must strengthen the Red Army's rear, subordinating all our work to this end; all our industries must be got to work with greater intensity, to produce more rifles, machine-guns, guns, cartridges, shells, planes; we must organize the guarding of factories, power stations, telephonic and telegraphic communications, and arrange effective air-raid protection in all localities.

We must wage a ruthless fight against all disorganizers of the rear, deserters, panic-mongers and rumour-mongers; we must exterminate spies, sabotage agents and enemy parachutists, rendering rapid aid in all this to our extermination battalions. We must bear in mind that the enemy is crafty, unscrupulous, experienced in deception and the dissemination of false rumours. We must reckon with all this and not fall victims to stratagem. All who by their panic-mongering and cowardice hinder the work of defence, no matter who they may be, must be immediately haled before a military tribunal.

In case of a forced retreat of Red Army units, all rolling stock must be evacuated, the enemy must not be left a single engine, a single railway car, not a single pound of grain or gallon of fuel. The collective farmers must drive off all their cattle and turn over their grain to the safe keeping of the state authorities for transportation to the rear. All valuable property, including non-ferrous metals, grain and fuel that cannot be withdrawn must be destroyed without fail.

In areas occupied by the enemy, guerilla units, mounted and on foot, must be formed; sabotage groups must be organized to combat enemy units, to foment guerilla warfare everywhere, blow up bridges and roads, damage telephone and telegraph lines, set fire to forests, stores and transports. In occupied regions conditions must be made unbearable for the enemy and all his accomplices. They must be hounded and annihilated at every step, and all their measures frustrated.

The war with fascist Germany cannot be considered an ordinary war. It is not only a war between two armies, it is also a great war of the entire Soviet people against the German-fascist armies. The aim of this national patriotic war in defence of our country against the fascist oppressors is not only to eliminate the danger hanging over our country, but also to aid all the European peoples groaning under the yoke of German fascism. In this war of liberation we shall not be alone. In this great war we shall have true allies in the peoples of Europe and America, including the German people which is enslaved by the Hitlerite misrulers. Our war for the freedom of our country will merge with the struggle of the peoples of Europe and America for their independence, for democratic liberties. It will be a united front of the peoples standing for freedom and against enslavement and threats of enslavement by Hitler's fascist armies. In this connection the historic utterance of the British Prime Minister, Mr. Churchill, regarding aid to the Soviet Union, and the declaration of the United States Government signifying readiness to render aid to our country, which can only evoke a feeling of gratitude in the hearts of the peoples of the Soviet Union, are fully comprehensible and symptomatic.

Comrades, our forces are numberless. The overweening enemy will soon learn this to his cost. Side by side with the Red Army many thousands of workers, collective farmers and intellectuals are rising to fight the enemy aggressor. The masses of our people will rise up in their millions. The working people of Moscow and Leningrad have already begun to form huge People's Guards in support of the Red Army. Such People's Guards must be raised in every city which is in danger of enemy invasion; all the working people must be roused to defend with their lives their freedom, their honour and their country in this patriotic war against German fascism.

In order to ensure the rapid mobilization of all the forces of the peoples of the U.S.S.R. and to repulse the enemy who has treacherously attacked our country, a State Committee of Defence has been formed and the entire state authority has now been vested in it. The State Committee of Defence has entered on the performance of its functions and calls upon all our people to rally around the Party of

Lenin and Stalin and around the Soviet Government, so as to render self-sacrificing support to the Red Army and Red Navy, to exterminate the enemy and secure victory.

All our forces for the support of our heroic Red Army and our glorious Red Navy!

All the forces of the people for the destruction of the enemy!
Forward to victory!

SPEECH AT CELEBRATION MEETING OF THE MOSCOW
SOVIET OF WORKING PEOPLE'S DEPUTIES AND MOSCOW
PARTY AND PUBLIC ORGANIZATIONS, NOVEMBER 6, 1941

COMRADES, twenty-four years have elapsed since the victory of the October Socialist Revolution and the establishment of the Soviet system in our country. We stand now on the threshold of the next, the twenty-fifth, year of existence of the Soviet system.

Usually at meetings in celebration of the anniversaries of the October Revolution the results of our successes in the realm of peaceful construction for the past year are summed up. We have really the possibility to sum up such results as our successes in the realm of peaceful construction are growing not only from year to year, but from month to month. What these successes are and how great they are is known to all, both friends and foes.

But this past year is not only a year of peaceful construction. It is also a year of war with the German invaders who perfidiously attacked our peace-loving country. Only during the first six months of the past year were we able to continue our peaceful, constructive work. In the second half of the year more than four months were spent under conditions of a fierce war with the German imperialists. The war has thus become a turning-point in the development of our country for the last year. The war has considerably curtailed and, in some branches, altogether stopped, our peaceful constructive work. It has forced us to reorganize all our work on a war footing. It has converted our country into a united and all-embracing rear serving the front, our Red Army and our Navy.

The period of peaceful construction has ended. The period of the war of liberation from the German invaders has begun.

It is therefore quite appropriate to sum up the results of the war for the second half of the past year, or rather for the period of somewhat over four months of the second half of the year, as well as the tasks confronting us in this war of liberation.

THE COURSE OF THE WAR FOR FOUR MONTHS

I have already said in my speech at the beginning of the war that the war had created a dangerous threat to our country, that a serious danger was looming over our country, that we must understand and realize this danger and remodel our work on a war-time basis. Now, after four months of war, I must emphasize that this danger has not only not grown less, but, on the contrary, has even increased. The enemy has seized a large part of the Ukraine, Byelorussia, Moldavia, Lithuania, Latvia, Esthonia and a number of other regions, has forced his way into the Donetz Basin, hangs like a black cloud over Leningrad and is threatening our glorious capital, Moscow. The German-fascist invaders are plundering our country, destroying the towns and villages created by the labours of the workers, peasants and intellectuals. The Hitlerite hordes are murdering and outraging the peaceful inhabitants of our country, having no mercy on women, children or old people. Our brothers in the regions of our country seized by the Germans are groaning under the yoke of the German oppressors.

Streams of enemy blood have been spilt by the men of our Army and Navy, who are defending the honour and freedom of our Motherland, courageously beating off the attacks of the bestial enemy and displaying examples of valour and heroism. But the enemy stops at no sacrifice, he does not care one iota for the blood of his soldiers, he throws into action more and more detachments to replace those which have been shattered, and is straining all his efforts to capture Leningrad and Moscow before the advent of winter, for he knows that winter bodes him no good.

In four months of war we have lost 350,000 in killed, and 378,000 missing, and our wounded number 1,020,000. In the same period the enemy has in killed, wounded and prisoners lost more than four and a half million men.

There can be no doubt that as a result of four months of war Germany, whose reserves of man-power are already being exhausted, has been considerably more weakened than the Soviet Union, whose reserves are only now being mobilized to the full.

FAILURE OF THE "BLITZKRIEG"

In launching their attack on our country the German-fascist invaders thought that they would certainly be able to "finish off"

the Soviet Union in one and a half or two months, and in this short period would succeed in reaching the Urals. It must be said that the Germans did not conceal this plan of a "lightning" victory. On the contrary, they advertised it in every possible way. The facts, however, have demonstrated the utter irresponsibility and groundlessness of this "lightning" plan. Now this mad plan must be regarded as having finally failed. (*Applause.*)

How is it to be explained that the "blitzkrieg" which succeeded in Western Europe has failed and collapsed in the East?

What did the German-fascist strategists count on when they asserted that they would finish off the Soviet Union in two months and reach the Urals in this short period?

They seriously calculated in the first place on creating a general coalition against the U.S.S.R., on enlisting Great Britain and the U.S.A. in this coalition, first having frightened the ruling circles of these countries with the spectre of revolution, and thus completely isolating our country from the other Powers. The Germans knew that their policy of playing on the contradictions between the classes of individual states, and between these states and the Soviet country, had already produced results in France, the rulers of which, having let themselves be frightened by the spectre of revolution, in their fright laid their country at the feet of Hitler and renounced all resistance. The German-fascist strategists thought that the same would occur in Great Britain and the United States. The notorious Hess was in fact sent to England by the German-fascists precisely in order to persuade the English politicians to join in the general crusade against the U.S.S.R. But the Germans gravely miscalculated. (*Applause.*) Great Britain and the United States, despite the efforts of Hess, not only did not join in the campaign of the German-fascist invaders against the U.S.S.R., but, on the contrary, proved to be in one camp with the U.S.S.R. against Hitlerite Germany. The U.S.S.R. not only was not isolated, but, on the contrary, it acquired new allies in the shape of Great Britain, the United States and other countries occupied by the Germans. It turned out that the German policy of playing on contradictions and of intimidation by means of the spectre of revolution has been exhausted and is no longer suitable in the new situation. And not only is it unsuitable, but it is even fraught with grave danger for the German invaders, because in the new conditions of the war it leads to diametrically opposite results.

The Germans counted, secondly, on the instability of the Soviet system, and the unreliability of the Soviet rear, reckoning that after the first serious blow and the first setbacks of the Red Army, conflicts

would break out between the workers and peasants, dissension would begin between the peoples of the U.S.S.R., uprisings would occur, and the country would disintegrate into its component parts—which would facilitate the advance of the German invaders right up to the Urals. But here, also, the Germans gravely miscalculated. The setbacks of the Red Army not only did not weaken but, on the contrary, strengthened even further the alliance of the workers and peasants, as well as the friendship of the peoples of the U.S.S.R. (*Applause.*) Moreover, they converted the family of peoples of the U.S.S.R. into a single and unshakable camp, selflessly supporting its Red Army and its Red Navy. Never before has the Soviet rear been so firm as it is to-day. (*Loud applause.*) It is quite probable that any other State, having suffered such territorial losses as we have now, would not have withstood the test and would have fallen into decline. If the Soviet system has so successfully passed through this trial and even strengthened its rear, then this means that the Soviet system is now the most stable one. (*Loud applause.*)

Finally, the German invaders counted on the weakness of the Red Army and Red Navy, believing that the German army and German navy would succeed at the very first blow in overwhelming and dispersing our army and navy and opening the way for an unopposed advance into the depths of our country. But here, too, the Germans gravely miscalculated, overrating their own strength and underrating our army and navy. Of course, our army and navy are still young, they have been fighting for four months in all, they have not yet succeeded in becoming thoroughly seasoned, whereas they are confronted by the seasoned army and navy of the Germans, who have already been waging war for two years. But, in the first place, the morale of our army is higher than that of the Germans, because it is defending its native land from alien invaders and believes in the justice of its cause, whereas the German army is waging an aggressive war and is plundering a foreign country, having no possibility of believing even for a moment in the justice of its vile cause. There can be no doubt that the idea of defending one's own native land—and it is in the name of this that our people are fighting—is bound to create, and actually is creating in our army, heroes who are cementing the Red Army; whereas the idea of seizing and plundering a foreign country—and it is in the name of this that the Germans are in fact waging war—is bound to breed, and actually is breeding in the German army, professional plunderers, devoid of all moral principles and corrupting the German army. Secondly, advancing into the depths of our country, the German army is moving farther and farther away from

its own German rear, is forced to operate in hostile surroundings, is forced to create a new rear in an alien country, a rear which is at the same time being disrupted by our guerillas—all of which is radically disorganizing the supply of the German army, forcing it to fear its own rear, and destroying its faith in the stability of its own position; whereas our army is operating on its own native surroundings, enjoys the constant support of its own rear, has assured supplies of men, munitions and food, and has a profound faith in its rear. That is why our army has proved to be stronger than the Germans anticipated and the German army weaker than might have been expected judging by the boastful self-advertisement of the German invaders. The defence of Leningrad and Moscow, where our divisions lately wiped out about a score and a half of seasoned German divisions, shows that in the fire of our patriotic war there are being forged, and have already been forged, new Soviet fighters and commanders, airmen, artillerymen, mortar crews, tankmen, infantrymen and sailors, who to-morrow will become a deadly menace to the German army. (*Loud applause.*)

There is no doubt that all these circumstances taken together predetermined the inevitable failure of the "blitzkrieg" in the East.

REASONS FOR THE TEMPORARY REVERSES OF OUR ARMY

All that, of course, is true. But it is likewise true that alongside these favourable factors there are a number of factors unfavourable to the Red Army, as a result of which our army is suffering temporary reverses, is obliged to retreat and to surrender a number of regions of our country to the enemy.

What are these unfavourable factors? What are the reasons for the temporary military reverses of the Red Army?

One of the reasons for the reverses of the Red Army is the absence of a second front in Europe against the German-fascist troops. The fact of the matter is that at the present time there are still no armies of Great Britain or the United States of America on the European continent to wage war against the German-fascist troops, with the result that the Germans are not compelled to dissipate their forces and to wage war on two fronts, in the West and in the East. Well, the effect of this is that the Germans, considering their rear in the West secure, are able to move all their troops and the troops of their allies in Europe against our country. The situation at present is such that our country is carrying on the war of liberation single-handed, without

any military assistance, against the combined forces of Germans, Finns, Rumanians, Italians and Hungarians. The Germans preen themselves on their temporary successes and are lavish in the praises of their army, claiming that it can always defeat the Red Army in single combat. But the Germans' claims are empty boasting, for it is incomprehensible why in that case the Germans have resorted to the aid of the Finns, Rumanians, Italians and Hungarians against the Red Army, which is fighting absolutely single-handed without any military help from outside. There is no doubt that the absence of a second front in Europe against the Germans considerably eases the position of the German army. But neither can there be any doubt that the appearance of a second front on the European continent—and it must unquestionably appear in the near future (*loud applause*)—will essentially ease the situation of our army to the detriment of the German army.

The other reason for the temporary reverses of our army is our lack of an adequate number of tanks and, partly, of aircraft. In modern warfare it is very difficult for infantry to fight without tanks and without adequate aircraft protection. Our aviation is superior in quality to that of the Germans, and our valiant airmen have covered themselves with glory as fearless fighters. (*Applause.*) But we still have fewer aircraft than the Germans. Our tanks are superior in quality to the German tanks, and our glorious tankmen and artillerymen have more than once put the vaunted troops of the Germans, with their numerous tanks, to flight. (*Applause.*) But we still have several times fewer tanks than the Germans. Therein lies the secret of the temporary successes of the German army. It cannot be said that our tank-building industry is working badly and supplying our front with few tanks. No, it is working very well and is producing quite a number of excellent tanks. But the Germans are producing considerably more tanks, for they now have at their disposal not only their own tank-building industry, but also the industry of Czechoslovakia, Belgium, Holland and France. Had it not been for this circumstance, the Red Army would long ago have smashed the German army, which does not go into battle without tanks and cannot stand up to the blows of our troops if it has not a superiority in tanks. (*Applause.*)

There is only one way of nullifying the Germans' superiority in tanks and thus radically improving the position of our army. This way is, not only to increase the output of tanks in our country several times over, but also sharply to increase the production of anti-tank aircraft, anti-tank rifles and guns, and anti-tank grenades and mortars,

and to construct more anti-tank trenches and every other kind of anti-tank obstacle.

Herein lies our present task.

We can accomplish this task, and we must accomplish it at all costs!

WHO ARE THE "NATIONAL SOCIALISTS" ?

In our country the German invaders, i.e., the Hitlerites, are usually called fascists. The Hitlerites, it appears, consider this wrong and obstinately continue to call themselves "National Socialists." Hence the Germans want to assure us that the Hitlerite party, the party of the German invaders, which is plundering Europe and has organized the villainous attack on our socialist State, is a socialist party. Is this possible? What can there be in common between socialism and the bestial Hitlerite invaders who are plundering and oppressing the nations of Europe?

Can the Hitlerites be regarded as *nationalists*? No, they cannot. Actually, the Hitlerites are now not nationalists but *imperialists*. As long as the Hitlerites were engaged in assembling the German lands and reuniting the Rhine district, Austria, etc., it was possible with a certain amount of foundation to call them nationalists. But after they seized foreign territories and enslaved European nations—the Czechs, Slovaks, Poles, Norwegians, Danes, Dutch, Belgians, French, Serbs, Greeks, Ukrainians, Byelorussians, the inhabitants of the Baltic countries, etc.—and began to reach out for world domination, the Hitlerite party ceased to be a nationalist party, because from that moment it became an imperialist party, a party of annexation and oppression.

The Hitlerite party is a party of imperialists, and the most rapacious and predatory imperialists among all the imperialists of the world.

Can the Hitlerites be regarded as *socialists*? No, they cannot. Actually, the Hitlerites are the sworn enemies of socialism, arrant reactionaries and Black-Hundreds who have robbed the working class and the peoples of Europe of the most elementary democratic liberties. In order to cover up their reactionary, Black-Hundred essence, the Hitlerites denounce the internal regimes of Britain and America as plutocratic regimes. But in Britain and the United States there are elementary democratic liberties, there exist trade unions of workers and employees, there exist workers' parties, there exist parliaments; whereas in Germany, under the Hitler regime, all these institutions have been destroyed. One only needs to compare these two sets of

facts to perceive the reactionary nature of the Hitler regime and the utter hypocrisy of the German-fascist pratings about a plutocratic regime in Britain and in America. In point of fact the Hitler regime is a copy of that reactionary regime which existed in Russia under tsardom. It is well known that the Hitlerites suppress the rights of the workers, the rights of the intellectuals and the rights of nations as readily as the tsarist regime suppressed them, and that they organize mediæval Jewish pogroms as readily as the tsarist regime organized them.

The Hitlerite party is a party of enemies of democratic liberties, a party of mediæval reaction and Black-Hundred pogroms.

And if these brazen imperialists and arrant reactionaries still continue to masquerade in the togas of "nationalists" and "socialists," they do this in order to deceive the people, to fool the simpletons and to hide under the flag of "nationalism" and "socialism" their piratical and imperialist nature.

Crows decked in peacocks' feathers. . . . But no matter how much crows may deck themselves in peacocks' feathers they will not cease to be crows.

"We must at all costs," says Hitler, "strive to achieve the German conquest of the world. If we want to create our great German empire we must first of all oust and exterminate the Slav peoples—the Russians, Poles, Czechs, Slovaks, Bulgarians, Ukrainians, Byelorussians. There are no reasons why this should not be done."

"Man," says Hitler, "is sinful from birth and can be ruled only with the help of force. In dealing with him all methods are permissible. When policy demands it one must lie, betray and even kill."

"Kill everyone who is against us," says Göring. "Kill, kill!—It is not you who will be held responsible, but I. Therefore, kill!"

"I emancipate man," says Hitler, "from the humiliating chimera which is called conscience. Conscience, like education, mutilates man. I have the advantage of not being restrained by any considerations of a theoretical or moral nature."

In one of the orders of the German command, dated September 25, to the 489th infantry regiment, and found on a killed German non-commissioned officer, it is stated:

"I order you to open fire on every Russian as soon as he appears at a distance of 600 metres. The Russian must learn that he is faced by a resolute foe from whom he cannot expect any mercy."

In one of the declarations of the German command to the soldiers, found on the dead body of Lieutenant Gustav Ziegel, a native of Frankfurt-on-Main, it is stated:

"You have no heart or nerves; they are not needed in war. Eradicate every trace of pity and sympathy from your heart—kill every Russian, every Soviet person. Do not stop even if before you stands an old man or a woman, girl or boy, kill! By this you will save yourselves from destruction, ensure the future of your family and win eternal glory."

There you have the programme and instructions of the leaders of the Hitlerite party and of the Hitlerite command, the programme and instructions of men who have lost all semblance of human beings and have sunk to the level of wild beasts.

And these men, bereft of conscience and honour, these men with the morals of beasts, have the insolence to call for the extermination of the great Russian nation, the nation of Plekhanov and Lenin, Belinsky and Chernyshevsky, Pushkin and Tolstoy, Glinka and Chaikovsky, Gorky and Chekhov, Sechenov and Pavlov, Repin and Surikov, Suvorov and Kutuzov!

The German invaders want a war of extermination with the peoples of the U.S.S.R. Well, if the Germans want to have a war of extermination, they will get it. (*Loud and prolonged applause.*)

From now on our task, the task of the peoples of the U.S.S.R., the task of the fighters, commanders and the political workers of our Army and our Navy will be to exterminate every single German who has set his invading foot on the territory of our Fatherland. (*Loud applause. "Hear, hear!" Cheers.*)

No mercy for the German invaders!

Death to the German invaders! (*Loud applause.*)

THE DEFEAT OF THE GERMAN IMPERIALISTS AND THEIR ARMIES IS INEVITABLE

Already the very moral degradation of the German invaders, who have lost all human semblance, and long ago sunk to the level of wild beasts, this one circumstance is already evidence of the fact that they have doomed themselves to inevitable destruction.

But the inevitable destruction of the Hitlerite invaders and their armies is not determined by moral factors alone.

There exist three other basic factors, which are operating more powerfully with each day that passes, and which are bound to lead in the near future to the inevitable defeat of Hitler's bandit imperialism. (*Applause.*)

First, there is the instability of the *European* rear of imperialist Germany, the instability of the "New Order" in Europe. The German invaders have enslaved the peoples of the European continent—from France to the Soviet Baltic, from Norway, Denmark, Belgium, Holland and Soviet Byelorussia to the Balkans and the Soviet Ukraine; they have robbed them of their elementary democratic liberties; they have deprived them of the right to dispose of their own destinies; have taken away their bread, meat and raw materials; they have turned them into their slaves; they have crucified the Poles, Czechs, Serbs, and decided that, having achieved domination in Europe, they can now use it as a basis for building up Germany's world domination. That is what they call the "New Order in Europe." But what is this "basis," what is this "New Order"? Only the conceited Hitlerite fools fail to see that the "New Order" in Europe and the infamous "basis" of this order represent a volcano which is ready to erupt at any moment and overwhelm the German imperialist house of cards. They refer to Napoleon, assuring us that Hitler is acting like Napoleon, and that he resembles Napoleon in everything. In the first place, however, one should not forget Napoleon's fate. And, secondly, Hitler resembles Napoleon no more than a kitten resembles a lion. (*Laughter, loud applause.*) For Napoleon fought against the forces of reaction and relied on progressive forces, whereas Hitler, on the contrary, relies on the forces of reaction and is fighting the progressive forces. Only the Hitlerite fools in Berlin fail to realize that the enslaved peoples of Europe will fight and revolt against Hitler's tyranny. Who can doubt that the U.S.S.R., Great Britain and the U.S.A. will afford full support to the peoples of Europe in their struggle for liberation against Hitler's tyranny? (*Applause.*)

Secondly, there is the instability of the *German* rear of the Hitlerite invaders. So long as the Hitlerites were engaged in the assembling of Germany, which had been split up by the Versailles Treaty, they could enjoy the support of the German people, who were inspired by the ideal of the restoration of Germany. But after this aim had been achieved and the Hitlerites entered the road of imperialism, of the seizure of foreign lands and the subjugation of foreign nations, converting the peoples of Europe and the peoples of the U.S.S.R. into sworn enemies of present-day Germany, a profound change of feeling took place in the German people—against the continuation of the war, in favour of the termination of the war. Over two years of sanguinary war, the end of which is not yet in sight; the millions of human lives sacrificed; starvation; impoverishment; epidemics; an atmosphere of hostility to the Germans all around them; Hitler's stupid policy, which

has turned the peoples of the U.S.S.R. into the sworn enemies of present-day Germany—all this could not but set the German people against the unnecessary and ruinous war. Only the Hitlerite fools fail to understand that not only the European rear but also the German rear of the German troops represents a volcano which is ready to erupt and overwhelm the Hitlerite adventurers.

There is, finally, the coalition of the U.S.S.R., Great Britain and the United States of America against the German-fascist imperialists. It is a fact that Great Britain, the United States of America and the Soviet Union have united into a single camp, which has set itself the aim of smashing the Hitlerite imperialists and their predatory armies. The present war is a war of engines. The war will be won by the side that has an overwhelming preponderance in engine production. If we aggregate the production of engines in the U.S.A., Great Britain and the U.S.S.R., then we get a superiority of at least three times in comparison with Germany. That is one of the grounds for the inevitable doom of Hitler's robber imperialism.

The recent three-power conference in Moscow, attended by Lord Beaverbrook as representative of Great Britain and by Mr. Harriman as representative of the United States, decided systematically to help our country with tanks and aircraft. As is well known, we have already begun to receive tanks and planes on the basis of that decision. Even prior to that, England arranged for supplies to our country of such materials in short supply as aluminium, lead, tin, nickel and rubber. If to this we add the fact that a few days ago the United States of America decided to grant the Soviet Union a loan of 1,000,000,000 dollars we can say with certainty that the coalition of the United States of America, Great Britain and the U.S.S.R. is a reality (*loud applause*), which is growing and will continue to grow to the benefit of our common cause of liberation.

Such are the factors which determine the inevitable doom of German-fascist imperialism.

OUR TASKS

Lenin distinguished between two kinds of wars—predatory, and therefore, unjust wars, and wars of liberation—just wars.

The Germans are now waging a predatory war, an unjust war, for the purpose of seizing foreign territory and subjugating foreign peoples. That is why all honest people must rise against the German invaders as their enemies.

In contradistinction to Hitlerite Germany, the Soviet Union and its allies are waging a war of liberation, a just war, for the purpose of liberating the enslaved peoples of Europe and the U.S.S.R. from Hitler's tyranny. That is why all honest people must support the armies of the U.S.S.R., Great Britain and the other allies, as armies of liberation.

We have not, and cannot have, such war aims as the seizure of foreign territories and the subjugation of foreign peoples—whether it be the peoples and territories of Europe or the peoples and territories of Asia, including Iran. Our first aim is to liberate our territories and our peoples from the German-fascist yoke.

We have not, and cannot have, any such war aims as that of imposing our will and our regime upon the Slavonic or other enslaved nations of Europe, who are expecting our help. Our aim is to help these nations in their struggle for liberation against Hitler's tyranny and then to leave it to them quite freely to organize their life on their lands as they think fit. No interference in the internal affairs of other nations!

But if these aims are to be achieved, we must crush the military might of the German invaders, we must destroy, to the last man, the German forces of occupation who have intruded into our country for the purpose of enslaving it. (*Loud and prolonged applause.*)

But for this it is necessary that our Army and Navy receive active and effective support from our whole country, that all our workers and office employees, men and women, work untiringly in the factories and supply the front with ever-increasing quantities of tanks, anti-tank rifles and guns, aircraft, artillery, trench mortars, machine-guns, rifles and ammunition; that our collective farmers, men and women, work untiringly in their fields and supply the front and the country with ever-greater quantities of bread, meat, raw materials for industry; that our whole country and all the peoples of the U.S.S.R. organize into a single fighting camp, waging, together with our Army and Navy, the great war of liberation for the honour and freedom of our Motherland, for the rout of the German armies. (*Loud applause.*)

This is now our task.

We can and we must accomplish this task.

Only when we have accomplished this task and routed the German invaders can we achieve a lasting and just peace.

For the complete rout of the German invaders! (*Loud applause.*)

For the liberation of all the oppressed peoples groaning under the yoke of Hitler's tyranny! (*Loud applause.*)

Long live the unshakable friendship of the peoples of the Soviet Union! (*Loud applause.*)

Long live our Red Army and our Red Navy! (*Loud applause.*)

Long live our glorious Motherland! (*Loud applause.*)

Our cause is just—victory will be ours! (*Loud applause. All rise. Shouts: "Cheers for the great Stalin!" "Long live Comrade Stalin!" Prolonged applause. The Internationale is sung.*)

SPEECH AT THE RED ARMY PARADE ON THE RED SQUARE, MOSCOW, NOVEMBER 7, 1941

COMRADES, men of the Red Army and Red Navy, commanders and political instructors, working men and working women, collective farmers—men and women, workers in the intellectual professions, brothers and sisters in the rear of our enemy who have temporarily fallen under the yoke of the German brigands, and our valiant men and women guerillas who are destroying the rear of the German invaders!

On behalf of the Soviet Government and our Bolshevik Party I am greeting you and congratulating you on the twenty-fourth anniversary of the Great October Socialist Revolution.

Comrades, it is in strenuous circumstances that we are to-day celebrating the twenty-fourth anniversary of the October Revolution. The perfidious attack of the German brigands and the war which has been forced upon us have created a threat to our country. We have temporarily lost a number of regions, the enemy has appeared at the gates of Leningrad and Moscow. The enemy reckoned that after the very first blow our army would be dispersed, and our country would be forced to her knees. But the enemy gravely miscalculated. In spite of temporary reverses, our Army and Navy are heroically repulsing the enemy's attacks along the entire front and inflicting heavy losses upon him, while our country—our entire country—has organized itself into one fighting camp in order, together with our Army and our Navy, to encompass the rout of the German invaders.

There were times when our country was in a still more difficult position. Remember the year 1918, when we celebrated the first anniversary of the October Revolution. Three-quarters of our country was at that time in the hands of foreign interventionists. The Ukraine, the Caucasus, Central Asia, the Urals, Siberia and the Far East were temporarily lost to us. We had no allies, we had no Red Army—we had only just begun to create it; there was a shortage of food, of

armaments, of clothing for the Army. Fourteen states were pressing against our country. But we did not become despondent, we did not lose heart. In the fire of war we forged the Red Army and converted our country into a military camp. The spirit of the great Lenin animated us at that time for the war against the interventionists. And what happened? We routed the interventionists, recovered all our lost territory, and achieved victory.

To-day the position of our country is far better than twenty-three years ago. Our country is now many times richer than it was twenty-three years ago as regards industry, food and raw materials. We now have allies, who together with us are maintaining a united front against the German invaders. We now enjoy the sympathy and support of all the nations of Europe who have fallen under the yoke of Hitler's tyranny. We now have a splendid Army and a splendid Navy, who are defending with their lives the liberty and independence of our country. We experience no serious shortage of either food, or armaments or army clothing. Our entire country, all the peoples of our country, support our Army and our Navy, helping them to smash the invading hordes of German fascists. Our reserves of man-power are inexhaustible. The spirit of the great Lenin and his victorious banner animate us now in this patriotic war just as they did twenty-three years ago.

Can there be any doubt that we can, and are bound to, defeat the German invaders?

The enemy is not so strong as some frightened little intellectuals picture him. The devil is not so terrible as he is painted. Who can deny that our Red Army has more than once put the vaunted German troops to panic flight? If one judges, not by the boastful assertions of the German propagandists, but by the actual position of Germany, it will not be difficult to understand that the German-fascist invaders are facing disaster. Hunger and impoverishment reign in Germany to-day; in four months of war Germany has lost four and a half million men; Germany is bleeding, her reserves of man-power are giving out, the spirit of indignation is spreading not only among the peoples of Europe who have fallen under the yoke of the German invaders but also among the German people themselves, who see no end to war. The German invaders are straining their last efforts. There is no doubt that Germany cannot sustain such a strain for long. Another few months, another half-year, perhaps another year, and Hitlerite Germany must burst under the pressure of her crimes.

Comrades, men of the Red Army and Red Navy, commanders

and political instructors, men and women guerillas, the whole world is looking to you as the force capable of destroying the plundering hordes of German invaders. The enslaved peoples of Europe who have fallen under the yoke of the German invaders look to you as their liberators. A great liberating mission has fallen to your lot. Be worthy of this mission! The war you are waging is a war of liberation, a just war. Let the manly images of our great ancestors—Alexander Nevsky, Dimitry Donskoy, Kuzma Minin, Dimitry Pozharsky, Alexander Suvorov and Mikhail Kutuzov—inspire you in this war! May the victorious banner of the great Lenin be your lodestar!

For the complete destruction of the German invaders!

Death to the German invaders!

Long live our glorious Motherland, her liberty and her independence!

Under the banner of Lenin, forward to victory!

ORDER OF THE DAY, NO. 55, OF FEBRUARY 23, 1942

COMRADES, men of the Red Army and Red Navy, commanders and political workers, men and women guerillas!

The peoples of our country meet the twenty-fourth anniversary of the Red Army in the stern days of a patriotic war against fascist Germany, which is brazenly and despicably encroaching upon the life and freedom of our Motherland. Along the whole length of the huge front, which stretches from the Arctic Ocean to the Black Sea, the men of the Red Army and Navy are waging a bitter fight to drive the German-fascist invaders from our country and safeguard the honour and independence of our Motherland.

This is not the first time that the Red Army has had to defend our native land against enemy attack. The Red Army was created twenty-four years ago to combat the troops of the foreign interventionist invaders who were endeavouring to dismember our country and destroy her independence. Young detachments of the Red Army, which entered war for the first time, routed the German invaders at Pskov and Narva on February 23, 1918. For this very reason February 23, 1918, was proclaimed the day of the birth of the Red Army. Since then the Red Army grew and gained strength in the struggle with the foreign interventionist invaders. It successfully defended our country in the battles with the German invaders in 1918 and drove them beyond the confines of the Ukraine and Byelo-

russia. It successfully defended our country in the battles with the foreign troops of the Entente in 1919-1921 and drove them too beyond the confines of our country.

The rout of the foreign interventionist invaders during the Civil War secured the peoples of the Soviet Union lasting peace and the possibility of peaceful construction. During those two decades of peaceful construction there sprang up in our country socialist industry and collective farming; science and culture flourished and the bonds of friendship between the peoples of our country strengthened. But the Soviet people never forgot the possibility of a fresh enemy attack on our Motherland. Therefore, simultaneously with the development of industry and agriculture, science and culture, the military might of the Soviet Union was also growing. Certain lovers of foreign lands have already felt this might on their own hides. The much-vaunted German-fascist army is feeling it now.

Eight months ago fascist Germany perfidiously attacked our country, grossly and basely violating the non-aggression pact. The enemy figured that after the very first blow the Red Army would be routed and would lose its ability to resist. But the enemy gravely miscalculated. He did not take into consideration the strength of the Red Army, did not take into consideration the solidity of the Soviet rear, did not take into consideration the will of the peoples of our country to achieve victory, did not take into consideration the unreliability of the European rear of fascist Germany, did not take into consideration, finally, the internal weakness of fascist Germany and its army.

In the first months of the war, as a result of the unexpectedness and suddenness of the German-fascist attack, the Red Army was forced to retreat and evacuate part of Soviet territory. But while retreating the Red Army wore down the forces of the enemy and inflicted severe blows upon him. Neither the men of the Red Army nor the peoples of our country doubted that this retreat was but temporary, that the enemy would be halted and then defeated.

In the course of the war the Red Army accumulated fresh vital strength, was reinforced with men and equipment, and received fresh reserve divisions to aid it. And the time came when the Red Army was able to pass to the offensive in the main sectors of the huge front. Within a short time the Red Army dealt the German-fascist troops one blow after another, at Rostov-on-Don and Tikhvin, in the Crimea and at Moscow. In violent battles near Moscow the Red Army routed the German-fascist troops which had threatened to surround the Soviet capital. The Red Army threw back the enemy from

Moscow and is still continuing to press him westward. The Moscow and Tula Regions as well as dozens of towns and hundreds of villages of other regions temporarily captured by the enemy have been completely freed from the German invaders.

The Germans now no longer have that military advantage which they possessed during the first months of the war as a result of their treacherous and sudden attack. The momentum of surprise and unexpectedness, as a reserve of the German-fascist troops, has been completely spent. This has put an end to that inequality in war conditions which was created by the suddenness of the German-fascist attack. From now on the outcome of the war will be decided, not by such an adventitious element as surprise, but by permanently operating factors: stability of the rear, morale of the army, quantity and quality of divisions, equipment of the army, organizing ability of the commanding personnel of the army. At this point one circumstance ought to be noted: no sooner had the momentum of suddenness disappeared from the German arsenal than the German-fascist army was confronted with catastrophe.

The German fascists consider their army invincible, asserting that in single combat it would unquestionably smash the Red Army. At the present time the Red Army and the German-fascist army are fighting in single combat. More than that, the German-fascist army has the direct support at the front of Italian, Rumanian and Finnish troops. The Red Army, so far, has no similar support. And what do we find? The vaunted German army is suffering defeat while the Red Army has major successes to its credit. Under the powerful blows of the Red Army the German troops are reeling back to the West, sustaining huge losses in men and equipment. They hold on to every line of defence, trying to defer the day of their rout. But the enemy's efforts are in vain. The initiative is now in our hands and the efforts of Hitler's loose and rusty war machine cannot check the pressure of the Red Army. The day is not far distant when the Red Army, by its powerful blows, will thrust back the brutal enemy from Leningrad and sweep clear of him the towns and villages of Byelorussia and the Ukraine, of Lithuania and Latvia, Esthonia and Karelia, will free the Soviet Crimea, and the red banners will again fly victoriously over the entire Soviet land.

It would, however, be unpardonable shortsightedness to rest content with the successes achieved and to think that the German troops have already been done for. This would be empty boasting and conceit unworthy of Soviet people. It should not be forgotten that there are still many difficulties ahead. The enemy is suffering

defeat, but he is not yet routed, still less is he finished off. The enemy is still strong. He will exert his last forces in order to attain success. And the more he suffers defeat, the more brutal he will become. Therefore it is essential that in our country the training of reserves in aid of the front should not be relaxed for a moment. It is essential that ever-new military units should go to the front to forge victory over the bestial enemy. It is essential that our industry, particularly our war industry, should work with redoubled energy. It is essential that with every day the front should receive ever more tanks, planes, guns, mortars, machine-guns, rifles, automatic rifles, and ammunition.

Herein lies one of the basic sources of the strength and power of the Red Army.

But the strength of the Red Army does not consist only in this.

The strength of the Red Army rests, above all, in the fact that it is waging, not a predatory, not an imperialist war, but a patriotic war, a war of liberation, a just war. The Red Army's task is to liberate our Soviet territory from the German invaders; to liberate from the yoke of the German invaders the citizens of our villages and towns who were free and lived like human beings before the war, but are now oppressed and suffer pillage, ruin and famine; and finally, to liberate our women from that disgrace and outrage to which they are subjected by the German-fascist monsters. What could be more noble, more lofty, than such a task? Not one German soldier can say that he is waging a just war, because he cannot fail to see that he is forced to fight for the despoliation and oppression of other peoples. The German soldier has no such lofty and noble aim in the war which could inspire him and of which he could be proud. But, in contrast, any Red Army man can say with pride that he is waging a just war, a war for liberation, a war for the freedom and independence of his Motherland. The Red Army does have a noble and lofty aim in the war which inspires it to great exploits. It is precisely this that explains why the patriotic war brings forth among us thousands of heroes and heroines ready to go to their death for the sake of the liberty of their Motherland.

Herein lies the strength of the Red Army.

And herein lies the weakness of the German-fascist army.

The foreign Press sometimes carries such twaddle as that the Red Army pursues the aim of exterminating the German people and destroying the German state. This, of course, is a stupid lie, and a senseless slander against the Red Army. The Red Army has not and cannot have such idiotic aims. The Red Army's aim is to drive the German occupants from our country and liberate Soviet soil from the

German-fascist invaders. It is very likely that the war for the liberation of Soviet soil will lead to the exile or destruction of Hitler's clique. We would welcome such an outcome. But it would be ludicrous to identify Hitler's clique with the German people, with the German state. The experience of history indicates that Hitlers come and go, but the German people and the German state remain.

The strength of the Red Army lies, finally, in the fact that it does not and cannot feel racial hatred for other peoples, including the German people; that it has been trained in the spirit of equality of all peoples and races, in the spirit of respect for the rights of other peoples. The Germans' racial theory and the practice of racial hatred have caused all freedom-loving peoples to become enemies of fascist Germany. The theory of race equality in the U.S.S.R. and practice of respect for the rights of other peoples have caused all freedom-loving peoples to become the friends of the Soviet Union.

Herein lies the strength of the Red Army.

And herein lies the weakness of the German-fascist army.

The foreign Press sometimes carries such twaddle as that the Soviet people hate the Germans just as Germans, that the Red Army exterminates German soldiers just as Germans out of hatred for everything German and that therefore the Red Army does not take German soldiers prisoner. That, of course is a similar stupid lie and senseless slander against the Red Army. The Red Army is devoid of all sentiments of racial hatred. It is devoid of such degrading sentiments because it has been trained in the spirit of racial equality and respect for the rights of other peoples. It should not be forgotten either that in our country any manifestation of racial hatred is punished by law.

Of course, the Red Army has to destroy the German-fascist occupationists inasmuch as they wish to enslave our Motherland; or when, on being surrounded by our troops, they refuse to lay down their arms and surrender. The Red Army annihilates them, not because of their German origin, but because they want to enslave our Motherland. The Red Army, like the army of any other people, has the right and is duty-bound to annihilate the enslavers of its Motherland, irrespective of their national origin. Not long ago the German garrisons in the towns of Kalinin, Klin, Sukhinichi, Andreapol and Toropets were surrounded by our troops, who offered them surrender and, in this case, promised to spare their lives. The German garrisons refused to lay down their arms and surrender. It is obvious that they had to be driven out by force and that not a few Germans were killed. War is war. The Red Army takes German soldiers and

officers prisoner if they surrender, and spares their lives. The Red Army annihilates German soldiers and officers if they refuse to lay down their arms, and, arms in hand, attempt to enslave our Motherland. Remember the words of the great Russian writer, Maxim Gorky: "If the enemy does not surrender he must be annihilated."

Comrades! Red Army men and Red Navy men, commanders and political workers, men and women guerillas! I congratulate you on the twenty-fourth anniversary of the Red Army! I wish you complete victory over the German-fascist invaders.

Long live the Red Army and Navy!

Long live the men and women guerillas!

Long live our glorious native land, its freedom and its independence!

Long live the great party of the Bolsheviks which is leading us to victory!

Long live the invincible banner of the great Lenin!

Under the banner of Lenin onward to the defeat of the German-fascist invaders!

J. STALIN,

Moscow.

People's Commissar for Defence of the U.S.S.R.

ORDER OF THE DAY, NO. 130, OF MAY 1, 1942

COMRADES, men of the Red Army and the Red Navy, commanders and political instructors, men and women guerillas, men and women workers, men and women peasants, people engaged in intellectual work, brothers and sisters on the other side of the front, in the rear of the German-fascist troops, who have temporarily fallen under the yoke of the German oppressors!

On behalf of the Soviet Government and our Bolshevik Party I greet and congratulate you on the day of the First of May.

Comrades! This year the peoples of our country meet the International May Day under the conditions of the patriotic war against the German-fascist invaders. The war has laid its imprint on every aspect of our life. It has laid its imprint also on this day, on the festival of May First. The working people of our country, mindful of the war situation, have renounced their holiday rest in order to pass this day in intense work for the defence of our country. Living at one with our fighters at the front, they have turned the festival of May First into a day of toil and struggle in order to afford the front the greatest possible assistance and supply it with more rifles, machine-

guns, guns, mortars, tanks and aircraft, ammunition, bread, meat, fish and vegetables.

This signifies that in our country front and rear constitute a single indivisible fighting camp, ready to overcome any difficulties on the road to victory over the enemy.

Comrades! More than two years have elapsed since the German-fascist invaders plunged Europe into the abyss of war, subjugated the freedom-loving countries of the European continent—France, Norway, Denmark, Belgium, Holland, Czechoslovakia, Poland, Yugoslavia, Greece—and began to suck out their blood for the enrichment of the German bankers. More than ten months have elapsed since the German-fascist invaders basely and perfidiously attacked our country, plundering and devastating our villages and cities, outraging and murdering the peaceful populations of Esthonia, Latvia, Lithuania, Byelorussia, the Ukraine, Moldavia. For more than ten months the peoples of our country have been waging a patriotic war against the brutal enemy, defending the honour and freedom of their Motherland. During this period of time we have had the opportunity of obtaining quite a good view of the German-fascists, of grasping their real intentions, of learning their true face, not from verbal declarations, but from the experience of the war, from facts known to all.

Who then are they, these enemies of ours, the German-fascists? What kind of people are they? What does the experience of the war teach us on this point?

It is said that the German-fascists are nationalists safeguarding the integrity and independence of Germany against encroachments on the part of other states. This is, of course, a lie. Only liars can assert that Norway, Denmark, Belgium, Holland, Greece, the Soviet Union and other freedom-loving countries had been encroaching on the integrity and independence of Germany. In reality the German fascists are not nationalists but imperialists, who seize foreign countries and suck their blood in order to enrich the German bankers and plutocrats. The leading German-fascist, Göring, is himself, as is well known, one of the leading bankers and plutocrats, exploiting dozens of factories. Hitler, Göbbels, Ribbentrop, Himmler and other rulers of present-day Germany are the watchdogs of the German bankers, who place the interests of the latter far above all other interests. The German army is a blind tool in the hands of these gentlemen, and is called upon to shed its blood and alien blood, and to cripple itself and others, not in the interests of Germany, but for the enrichment of the German bankers and plutocrats.

This is what the experience of the war tells us.

It is said that the German-fascists are socialists who endeavour to defend the interests of the workers and peasants against the plutocrats. This is, of course, a lie. Only liars can assert that the German fascists, who have instituted slave labour in factories and restored the system of serfdom in the villages of Germany and the subjugated countries, are defenders of workers and peasants. Only insolent swindlers can deny that the system of slavery and serfdom established by the German fascists is of profit to the German plutocrats and bankers and not to the workers and peasants. In actual fact the German-fascists are reactionary serf-owners, and the German army an army of serf-owners, shedding its blood for the enrichment of the German barons and the restoration of the power of the landlords.

This is what the experience of the war tells us.

It is said that the German-fascists are the bearers of European culture, waging war for the dissemination of this culture in other countries. This is, of course, a lie. Only professional swindlers can assert that the German-fascists, who have covered Europe with gallows, who are pillaging and outraging the peaceful population, who are setting fire to and blowing up cities and villages, and destroying the cultural values of the peoples of Europe, can be bearers of European culture. In actual fact the German-fascists are the enemies of European culture, and the German army is an army of mediæval obscurantism, called upon to destroy European culture for the sake of implanting the slaveholders' "culture" of the German bankers and barons.

This is what the experience of the war tells us.

Such is the face of our enemy, unmasked and exposed to the light by the experience of the war.

But the experience of the war is not confined to these conclusions. The experience of the war shows in addition that during the war important changes have taken place both in the situation of fascist Germany and her army, and in the situation of our country and the Red Army.

What are these changes ?

It is undoubtedly true, in the first place, that fascist Germany and its army have become weaker during this period than they were ten months ago. The war has brought the German people great disillusionments, the sacrifice of millions of human victims, starvation and impoverishment. The end of the war is not in sight, but the reserves of man-power are giving out, oil is giving out, raw materials are giving out. The German people are becoming more and more aware of the inevitability of Germany's defeat. The German people realize

with growing clarity that the only way out of the situation that has arisen is the liberation of Germany from the adventurist Hitler-Göring clique.

The Hitlerite imperialists have occupied vast territories in Europe, but they have not broken the will to resistance of the European peoples. The struggle of the enslaved peoples against the regime of the German-fascist highwaymen is beginning to assume general scope. Sabotage at war plants, the blowing up of German ammunition stores, the wrecking of German troop trains and the killing of German soldiers and officers have become everyday occurrences in all the occupied countries. All Yugoslavia and the German-occupied Soviet areas are swept by the flames of partisan warfare.

All these circumstances have led to a weakening of the German rear, which means the weakening of fascist Germany as a whole.

As to the German army, despite its stubbornness in defence it has become much weaker than it was ten months ago. Its old and experienced generals, such as Reichenau, Brauchitsch, Todt and others, have either been killed by the Red Army or cashiered by the German-fascist ruling clique. Its seasoned officer corps has in part been exterminated by the Red Army, and in part become demoralized as a result of the plunder and outrages against the civilian population. Its rank and file, seriously weakened in the course of the military operations, is receiving fewer reinforcements.

Secondly, there is no doubt that during the period of the war to date our country has become stronger than it was at the beginning of the war. Not only friends, but even enemies, are compelled to admit that our country is to-day more united and more firmly rallied round its Government than ever before, that the rear and the front of our country are united in a single fighting camp which is firing at the same target, that the Soviet people in the rear are supplying our front with ever-increasing numbers of rifles and machine-guns, mortars and guns, tanks and aircraft, provisions and ammunition.

As regards the international connections of our Motherland, they have recently grown and gained strength as never before. All freedom-loving peoples have united against German imperialism. Their eyes are turned to the Soviet Union. The heroic fight which the peoples of our country are waging for their freedom, honour and independence evokes the admiration of all progressive humanity. The peoples of all freedom-loving countries look to the Soviet Union as a force capable of saving the world from the Hitlerite plague. Among these freedom-loving countries, the first place is occupied by Great Britain and the United States of America, with which we are bound by ties of friendship

and alliance, and who are rendering our country ever-increasing military assistance against the German-fascist invaders.

All these circumstances are evidence of the fact that our country has become much stronger.

Finally, there is no doubt that during the period of the war to date the Red Army has become better organized and stronger than it was at the beginning of the war. One cannot regard as accidental the universally known fact that, after a temporary retreat caused by the treacherous attack of the German imperialists, the Red Army managed to achieve a turn in the course of the war and passed from active defence to a successful offensive against the enemy troops. It is a fact that thanks to the successes of the Red Army, the patriotic war has entered on a new period—the period of liberation of Soviet lands from the Hitlerite scum. True, the Red Army undertook the accomplishment of this historic task under the difficult conditions of a grim winter with heavy snowfalls; but nevertheless it achieved great successes. Having taken the initiative in military operations into its own hands, the Red Army inflicted a number of serious defeats on the German-fascist troops and compelled them to clear a considerable portion of Soviet territory. The invaders' plans to make use of the winter for a respite and for strengthening their position on their line of defence suffered a fiasco. In the course of its offensive the Red Army has annihilated vast numbers of the enemy's man-power and vast quantities of his equipment, has captured no small quantity of the enemy's equipment and compelled him prematurely to expend reserves brought up from deep in the rear and intended for the spring and summer operations.

All this is evidence of the fact that the Red Army has become better organized and stronger, that its officer cadres have become steeled in battle, and that its generals have become more experienced and far-sighted.

A radical change has also taken place in the rank and file of the Red Army.

The complacency and heedlessness in the attitude towards the enemy which were observed among Red Army men during the first months of the patriotic war have disappeared. The atrocities, plunder and outrages perpetrated by the German-fascist invaders against the civilians and Soviet prisoners-of-war have cured our men of this ailment. The Red Army men have become more envenomed and more ruthless. They have learnt to hate the German-fascist invaders in earnest. They have realized that one cannot defeat an enemy without having learnt to hate him heart and soul.

There is no more idle talk about the invincibility of the German troops, such as took place at the beginning of the war and which served to conceal fear of the Germans. The famous battles at Rostov and Kerch, at Moscow and Kalinin, at Tikhvin and Leningrad, in which the Red Army put the German-fascist invaders to flight, have convinced our men that this idle talk about the invincibility of the German troops is a fable invented by fascist propagandists. The experience of the war has convinced our fighting men that the so-called courage of the German officer is something highly relative, that the German officer displays courage when he is dealing with unarmed war prisoners and with the peaceful civilian population; but his courage deserts him when he is confronted with the organized might of the Red Army. Remember the popular saying: "A hero when facing sheep but himself a sheep when faced by a hero."

Such are the conclusions to be drawn from the experience of the war against the German-fascist invaders.

What do they imply?

They imply that we can and must continue to smite the German-fascist invaders until their final extermination, until the final liberation of Soviet soil from the Hitlerite blackguards.

Comrades! We are waging a patriotic war, a war of liberation, a just war. We have no such aims as the seizing of foreign lands, the subjugation of foreign peoples. Our aim is clear and noble. We want to free our Soviet soil of the German-fascist blackguards. We want to free our brothers the Ukrainians, Moldavians, Byelorussians, Lithuanians, Latvians, Estonians and Karelians from the shame and humiliation to which they are subjected by the German-fascist blackguards. To achieve this aim we must smash the German-fascist army and exterminate the German occupationists to a man, so long as they do not surrender. There is no other way.

We can do this and we must do this at any cost.

The Red Army possesses everything that is necessary for the realization of this lofty aim. Only one thing is lacking—the ability to utilize to the full against the enemy the first-class equipment with which our Motherland supplies it. Therefore the task of the Red Army, of its men, its machine-gunners, its artillerymen, its mortar crews, its tankmen, its fliers and cavalymen, is to study the art of war, to study assiduously, to master their arms to perfection, to become expert at their jobs and thus learn to defeat the enemy for certain. Only in this way can one learn the art of defeating the enemy.

Comrades, Red Army men and Red Navy men, commanders and political instructors, men and women guerilla fighters!

Greeting you and congratulating you on this First of May, I order:

1. The men of the rank and file to study their rifles to perfection, to become masters of their arms, to hit the enemy without fail, just as our glorious snipers, the exterminators of the German occupationists, are hitting them!

2. Machine-gunners, artillerymen, mortar crews, tankmen and fliers to study their arms to perfection, become experts at their jobs, to hit the German-fascist invaders point-blank until their final extermination.

3. Commanders of all units—to learn to perfection the art of co-ordinating the various branches of the service, to become expert in the art of commanding troops, to show the whole world that the Red Army is capable of fulfilling its great mission of liberation!

4. The entire Red Army—to make 1942 the year of the final rout of the German-fascist troops and the liberation of the Soviet land from the Hitlerite blackguards!

5. Men and women guerillas—to intensify partisan warfare in the rear of the German invaders, destroy the enemy's communications and transport facilities, to destroy the headquarters and equipment of the enemy, and not to spare any cartridges against the oppressors of our Motherland!

Under the invincible banner of the great Lenin—forward to victory!

J. STALIN,

Moscow.

People's Commissar of Defence of the U.S.S.R.

ANSWERS TO ASSOCIATED PRESS MOSCOW CORRESPONDENT'S QUESTIONS, OCTOBER 3, 1942

The Moscow correspondent of the American News Agency Associated Press, Mr. Henry Cassidy, addressed to J. V. Stalin, as Chairman of the Council of People's Commissars of the U.S.S.R., a letter in which he asked for an answer, either verbally or in writing, to three questions of interest to the American public. In reply J. V. Stalin sent Mr. Cassidy the following letter :

DEAR MR. CASSIDY, .

Owing to pressure of work and consequent inability to grant you an interview, I shall confine myself to a brief written answer to your questions.

(1) QUESTION: What place does the possibility of a Second Front occupy in Soviet estimates of the current situation ?

ANSWER: A very important place: one might say a place of first-rate importance.

(2) QUESTION: To what extent is Allied aid to the Soviet Union proving effective, and what could be done to amplify and improve this aid?

ANSWER: As compared with the aid which the Soviet Union is giving to the Allies by drawing upon itself the main forces of the German-fascist armies, the aid of the Allies to the Soviet Union has so far been little effective. In order to amplify and improve this aid only one thing is required: that the Allies fulfil their obligations completely and on time.

(3) QUESTION: What remains of the Soviet capacity for resistance?

ANSWER: I think that the Soviet capacity for resisting the German brigands is in strength not a whit less, if not greater, than the capacity of fascist Germany, or of any other aggressive Power, to secure for itself world domination.

With respects,

October 3, 1942.

(Signed) J. STALIN.

SPEECH AT CELEBRATION MEETING OF THE MOSCOW SOVIET OF WORKING PEOPLE'S DEPUTIES AND MOSCOW PARTY AND PUBLIC ORGANIZATIONS, NOVEMBER 6, 1942

COMRADES! To-day we are celebrating the twenty-fifth anniversary of the victory of the Soviet Revolution in our country. Twenty-five years have elapsed since the Soviet system was established in our country. We are now on the threshold of the next, the twenty-sixth year, of the existence of the Soviet regime.

At meetings in celebration of anniversaries of the October Soviet Revolution it is customary to pass in review the results of the work of the Government and Party organs for the past year. It is on these results for the past year, from November of last year to November of the current year, that I have been authorized to make a summary report to you.

The activities of our Government and Party organs during the past period proceeded in two directions: in the direction of peaceful construction and the organization of a strong rear for our front, on the one hand, and in the direction of carrying out defensive and offensive operations by the Red Army, on the other.

I. ORGANIZATIONAL WORK IN THE REAR

The peaceful, constructive work of our directing organs in this period consisted in shifting the base of our industry, both war and civilian, to the Eastern regions of our country; in the evacuation and establishment in their new places of the industrial workers and the equipment of the plants; in extending the sown areas and increasing the winter crop area in the east; and lastly in radically improving the work of our industries producing for the front and strengthening labour discipline in the rear, both in the factories and on the collective and state farms. It should be said that this was a most difficult and complex work of organization on a large scale on the part of all our economic and administrative People's Commissariats, including our railways. However, we managed to overcome the difficulties. And now our factories, collective farms and state farms are indisputably, in spite of all the difficulties of war-time, working satisfactorily. Our war factories and allied enterprises are conscientiously and punctually supplying the Red Army with guns, mortars, aircraft, tanks, machine-guns, rifles and ammunition. Our collective farms and State farms are likewise conscientiously and punctually supplying the population and the Red Army with foodstuffs and our industries with raw materials. It must be admitted that never before has our country had such a strong and well-organized rear.

As the result of all this complex organizational and constructional work not only our country but also the people themselves in the rear have been transformed. They have become more efficient, less slipshod, more disciplined; they have learned to work in war-time fashion and have come to realize their duty to the Motherland and her defenders at the front—the Red Army. Bunglers and slackers with no sense of civic duty are growing fewer and fewer in the rear. Organized and disciplined people, imbued with the sense of civic duty, are becoming more and more numerous.

But, as I have said, the past year was not only one of peaceful construction. It was at the same time a year of patriotic war against the German invaders who vilely and treacherously attacked our peaceful country.

II. MILITARY OPERATIONS ON THE SOVIET-GERMAN FRONT

As regards the military activities of our directing organs in the past year, these consisted in providing for offensive and defensive

operations by the Red Army against the German-fascist troops. The military operations on the Soviet-German front in the past year may be divided into two periods: The first period was chiefly the winter period, when the Red Army, having beaten off the Germans' attack on Moscow, took the initiative into its own hands, passed to the offensive, drove back the German troops and in the space of four months advanced, in places, over 400 kilometres (250 miles); and the second period was the summer period, when the German-fascist troops, taking advantage of the absence of a second front in Europe, mustered all their available reserves, pierced the front in the south-westerly direction and, taking the initiative into their own hands, in the space of five months advanced in places as much as 500 kilometres (300 miles).

Military operations in the first period, especially the successful operations of the Red Army in the Rostov, Tula and Kaluga areas, at Moscow and at Tikhvin and Leningrad, disclosed two significant facts. They showed, first, that the Red Army and its fighting cadres have grown into an effective force capable not only of withstanding the onslaught of the German-fascist troops, but also of defeating them in open battle and driving them back. They showed, secondly, that for all their staunchness, the German-fascist troops have such serious organic defects that, given certain favourable conditions for the Red Army, these may lead to the defeat of the German troops. It cannot be regarded as mere chance that the German troops, having marched in triumph through all Europe, and having smashed at one blow the French troops which had been considered first-class troops, met with effective military resistance only in our own country, and not only met with resistance, but were compelled, under the blows of the Red Army, to retreat more than 400 kilometres (250 miles) from the positions they had occupied, abandoning on their road of retreat an immense quantity of guns, machines and ammunition. This fact cannot be explained by winter conditions of warfare alone.

The second period of military operations on the Soviet-German front was marked by a change in favour of the Germans, by the passing of the initiative into the hands of the Germans, by the piercing of our front in the south-western direction, by the advance of the German troops and their reaching the areas of Voronezh, Stalingrad, Novorossisk, Pyatigorsk and Mozdok. Taking advantage of the absence of a second front in Europe, the Germans and their allies hurled all their available reserves to the front and, massing them in one direction—the south-western direction—created a large superiority of forces and achieved a substantial tactical success.

Apparently the Germans are no longer strong enough to conduct an offensive simultaneously in all three directions, in the south, north and centre, as was the case in the early months of the German offensive in the summer of last year. But they are still strong enough to organize a serious offensive in one direction.

What was the principal objective of the German-fascist strategists when they started their summer offensive on our front? To judge by the comments of the foreign Press, including the German, one might think that the principal objective of the offensive was to capture the oil districts of Grozny and Baku. But the facts decisively refute this assumption. The facts show that the Germans' advance on the oil districts of the U.S.S.R. is not their main aim but an auxiliary one.

What then was the principal objective of the German offensive? It was to outflank Moscow from the east, to cut it off from our rear in the Volga and Urals areas and then to strike at Moscow. The advance of the Germans southward towards the oil districts had an auxiliary purpose which was not only and not so much to capture the oil districts, as to divert our main reserves to the south and to weaken the Moscow front, so as to make it easier to achieve success when striking at Moscow. This, in fact, explains why the main grouping of German troops is now to be found not in the south but in the Orel and Stalingrad areas.

Recently an officer of the German General Staff fell into the hands of our men. A map was found on this officer showing the plan and time-table of the advance of the German troops. From this document it transpires that the Germans intended to be in Borisoglebsk on July 10 of this year, in Stalingrad on July 25, in Saratov on August 10, in Kuibyshev on August 15, in Arzamas on September 10 and in Baku on September 25.

This document completely confirms our information to the effect that the principal aim of the Germans' summer offensive was to outflank Moscow from the east and to strike at Moscow, while the purpose of the advance to the south was, apart from everything else, to divert our reserves as far as possible from Moscow and to weaken the Moscow front so as to make it easier to strike at Moscow.

In short, the main aim of the Germans' summer offensive was to surround Moscow and end the war this year.

In November of last year the Germans reckoned on capturing Moscow by a frontal attack, compelling the Red Army to capitulate, and thus achieving the termination of the war in the east. They fed their soldiers with these illusions. But, as we know, these calculations of the Germans miscarried. Having burnt their fingers last year in

attempting a frontal blow at Moscow, the Germans conceived the intention of capturing Moscow this year, this time by an outflanking movement, and thus ending the war in the east. It is with these illusions that they are now feeding their duped soldiers. As is known, these calculations of the Germans also miscarried. As the result of chasing two hares—both oil and the encirclement of Moscow—the German-fascist strategists found themselves in a difficult situation.

Thus the tactical successes of the Germans' summer offensive were not consummated owing to the obvious unreality of their strategic plans.

III. THE QUESTION OF THE SECOND FRONT IN EUROPE

How are we to explain the fact that the Germans this year were still able to take the initiative of military operations into their hands and achieve substantial tactical successes on our front?

It is to be explained by the fact that the Germans and their allies succeeded in mustering all their available reserves, hurling them on to the eastern front and creating a large superiority of forces in one of the directions. There can be no doubt that but for these measures the Germans could not have achieved any success on our front.

But why were they able to muster all their reserves and hurl them on the eastern front? Because the absence of a second front in Europe enabled them to carry out this operation without any risk to themselves.

Hence the chief reason for the tactical successes of the Germans on our front this year is that the absence of a second front in Europe enabled them to hurl on to our front all their available reserves and to create a large superiority of forces in the south-western direction.

Let us assume that a second front existed in Europe, as it existed in the first World War, and that a second front diverted, let us say, sixty German divisions and twenty divisions of Germany's allies. What would have been the position of the German troops on our front then? It is not difficult to guess that their position would have been deplorable. More than that, it would have been the beginning of the end of the German-fascist troops, for in that case the Red Army would not be where it is now, but somewhere near Pskov, Minsk, Zhitomir and Odessa. That means that in the summer of this year the German-fascist army would already have been on the verge of disaster. If that has not occurred, it is because the Germans were saved by the absence of a second front in Europe.

Let us examine the question of a second front in Europe in its historical aspect.

In the first World War Germany had to fight on two fronts: in the west, chiefly against Great Britain and France, and in the east against the Russian troops. Thus in the first World War there existed a second front against Germany. Of the 220 divisions which Germany had then, not more than 85 German divisions were stationed on the Russian front. If to this we add the troops of Germany's allies then facing the Russian front—namely, 37 Austro-Hungarian divisions, 2 Bulgarian divisions and 3 Turkish divisions—we get a total of 127 divisions facing the Russian troops. The rest of the divisions of Germany and her allies mainly held the front against the Anglo-French troops, while part of them performed garrison service in occupied territories of Europe.

Such was the position in the first World War.

What is the position now, in the second World War, in September of this year, let us say?

According to authenticated information which is beyond all doubt, of the 256 divisions which Germany now has, not less than 179 German divisions are on our front. If to this we add 22 Rumanian divisions, 14 Finnish divisions, 10 Italian divisions, 13 Hungarian divisions, 1 Slovak and 1 Spanish division, we get a total of 240 divisions which are now fighting on our front. The remaining divisions of Germany and her allies are performing garrison service in the occupied countries (France, Belgium, Norway, Holland, Yugoslavia, Poland, Czechoslovakia, etc.), while part of them are fighting in Libya for Egypt against Great Britain, the Libyan front diverting in all 4 German divisions and 11 Italian divisions.

Hence, instead of the 127 divisions as in the first World War, we are now facing on our front no less than 240 divisions, and, instead of 85 German divisions, we now have 179 German divisions fighting the Red Army.

There you have the chief reason and foundation for the tactical success of the German-fascist troops on our front in the summer of this year.

The German invasion of our country is often compared to Napoleon's invasion of Russia. But this comparison will not bear criticism. Of the 600,000 troops which began the campaign against Russia, Napoleon scarcely brought 130,000 or 140,000 as far as Borodino. That was all he had at his disposal at Moscow. Well, we now have over 3,000,000 troops facing the front of the Red Army and armed

with all the implements of modern warfare. What comparison can there be here?

The German invasion of our country is also sometimes compared to the German invasion of Russia at the time of the first World War. But neither will this comparison bear criticism. First, in the first World War there was a second front in Europe which rendered the Germans' position very difficult, whereas in this war there is no second front in Europe. Secondly, in this war, twice as many troops are facing our front as in the first World War. Obviously the comparison is not appropriate.

You can now conceive how serious and extraordinary are the difficulties confronting the Red Army, and how great is the heroism displayed by the Red Army in its war of liberation against the German-fascist troops.

I think that no other country and no other army could have withstood such an onslaught of the bestial bands of the German-fascist brigands and their allies. Only our Soviet country and only our Red Army are capable of withstanding such an onslaught. (*Loud applause.*) And not only withstanding it but also overpowering it.

It is often asked: But will there be a second front in Europe after all? Yes, there will be; sooner or later, there will be one. And it will be not only because we need it, but above all because our Allies need it no less than we do. Our Allies cannot fail to realize that since France has been put out of action, the absence of a second front against fascist Germany may end badly for all freedom-loving countries, including the Allies themselves.

IV. FIGHTING ALLIANCE OF THE U.S.S.R., GREAT BRITAIN AND THE U.S.A. AGAINST HITLERITE GERMANY AND HER ALLIES IN EUROPE

It may now be considered indisputable that, in the course of the war imposed upon the nations by Hitlerite Germany, a radical demarcation of forces and the formation of two opposite camps have taken place: the camp of the Italo-German coalition and the camp of the Anglo-Soviet-American coalition.

It is equally indisputable that these two opposite coalitions are guided by two different and opposite programmes of action.

The programme of action of the Italo-German coalition may be described by the following points: racial hatred; domination of "chosen" nations; subjugation of other nations and seizure of their

territories; economic enslavement of subjugated nations and plunder of their national wealth; destruction of democratic liberties; the institution of the Hitlerite regime everywhere.

The programme of action of the Anglo-Soviet-American coalition is: the abolition of racial exclusiveness; the equality of nations and the inviolability of their territories; the liberation of the enslaved nations and the restoration of their sovereign rights; the right of every nation to arrange its affairs as it wishes; economic aid to the nations that have suffered and assistance to them in achieving their material welfare; the restoration of democratic liberties; the destruction of the Hitlerite regime.

The effect of the programme of action of the Italo-German coalition has been that all the occupied countries of Europe—Norway, Denmark, Belgium, Holland, France, Poland, Czechoslovakia, Yugoslavia, Greece and the occupied regions of the U.S.S.R.—are burning with hatred for the Italo-German tyranny, are doing all the damage they can to the Germans and their allies and are waiting for a favourable opportunity to take revenge on their enslavers for the humiliations and outrages which they are suffering.

In this connection, one of the characteristic features of the present moment is the progressively growing isolation of the Italo-German coalition and the depletion of its moral and political reserves in Europe, its growing weakness and disintegration.

The effect of the programme of action of the Anglo-Soviet-American coalition has been that all the occupied countries in Europe are full of sympathy for the members of this coalition and are prepared to render them all the help of which they are capable.

In this connection, another characteristic feature of the present moment is that the moral and political reserves of this coalition are growing from day to day in Europe—and not only in Europe—and that this coalition is progressively winning millions of sympathizers ready to join in the fighting against the Hitlerite tyranny.

If the relative strength of these two coalitions is examined from the standpoint of human and material resources, one cannot help reaching the conclusion that the Anglo-Soviet-American coalition has an indisputable advantage.

The question is: is this advantage alone sufficient for victory? There are occasions, as we know, when resources are abundant, but are expended so unwisely that the advantage is nullified. Obviously, what is needed in addition to resources is the capacity to mobilize these resources and the ability to make the correct use of them. Is there any reason for doubting the existence of such ability and such capacity

on the part of the men of the Anglo-Soviet-American coalition? There are people who doubt this. But what grounds have they for their doubts? In the past the men of this coalition displayed their ability and capacity to mobilize the resources of their countries and to use them correctly for purposes of economic, cultural and political development. One asks: what grounds are there for doubting that men who have displayed capacity and ability in mobilizing and distributing resources for economic, cultural and political purposes will prove incapable of doing the same thing for purposes of war? I think there are no such grounds.

It is said that the Anglo-Soviet-American coalition has every chance of winning and would certainly win, if it did not have one organic defect which is capable of weakening and disintegrating it. This defect, in the opinion of these people, is that this coalition consists of heterogeneous elements with different ideologies and that this circumstance will prevent their organizing joint action against the common enemy.

I think that this assertion is incorrect.

It would be ridiculous to deny the difference in the ideologies and social systems of the countries composing the Anglo-Soviet-American coalition. But does this preclude the possibility and expediency of joint action on the part of the members of this coalition against the common enemy who holds out the threat of enslavement for them? It certainly does not preclude it. More than that, the existence of this threat imperatively imposes the necessity of joint action upon the members of the coalition in order to save mankind from reverting to savagery and mediæval brutality. Is not the programme of action of the Anglo-Soviet-American coalition a sufficient basis for the organization of the joint struggle against Hitlerite tyranny and for the achievement of victory over it? I think that it is quite sufficient.

The assumption of these people is incorrect also because of the fact that it is completely refuted by the events of the past year. Indeed, if these people were right we should be observing a progressive mutual alienation of the members of the Anglo-Soviet-American coalition. Yet, far from observing this, we have facts and events indicative of progressive rapprochement between the members of the Anglo-Soviet-American coalition and their uniting into a single fighting alliance. The events of the past year supply direct proof of this. In July, 1941, several weeks after Germany attacked the U.S.S.R., Great Britain concluded with us an Agreement on "Joint action in the war against Germany." At that time we had not yet any Agreement

with the United States of America on this subject. Ten months later, on May 26, 1942, during Comrade Molotov's visit to Great Britain, the latter concluded with us a "Treaty of Alliance in the war against Hitlerite Germany and her associates in Europe and of collaboration and mutual assistance after the war." This Treaty was concluded for a period of twenty years. It marks an historic turning-point in the relations between our country and Great Britain. In June, 1942, during Comrade Molotov's visit to the United States, the United States of America concluded with us an "Agreement on the principles applying to mutual aid in the prosecution of the war against aggression," an Agreement representing an important step forward in the relations between the U.S.S.R. and the United States. Finally, one should mention so important a fact as the visit to Moscow of the Prime Minister of Great Britain, Mr. Churchill, which established complete mutual understanding between the leaders of the two countries. There can be no doubt that all these facts point to a progressive rapprochement between the U.S.S.R., Great Britain and the United States of America, and to their uniting in a fighting alliance against the Italo-German coalition.

It follows that the logic of things is stronger than any other logic.

There can be only one conclusion, namely that the Anglo-Soviet-American coalition has every chance of vanquishing the Italo-German coalition and undoubtedly will vanquish it.

V. OUR TASKS

The war has torn aside all veils and laid bare all relationships. The situation has become so clear that nothing is easier than to define our tasks in this war.

In an interview with the Turkish general, Erkilet, published in the Turkish newspaper *Cumhuriyet*, that cannibal Hitler said: "We shall destroy Russia so that she will never be able to rise again." This seems clear, although rather ridiculous. (*Laughter*). We have no such aim as to destroy Germany, for it is impossible to destroy Germany, just as it is impossible to destroy Russia. But the Hitlerite State can and must be destroyed. (*Loud applause.*)

Our first task, in fact, is to destroy the Hitlerite State and its inspirers. (*Loud applause.*)

In the same interview with the same general, that cannibal Hitler went on to say: "We shall continue the war until there is no organized military force left in Russia." This seems clear, though illiterate.

(*Laughter.*) It is not our aim to destroy all organized military force in Germany, for every literate person will understand that this is not only impossible in regard to Germany, as it is in regard to Russia, but it is also inexpedient from the point of view of the victor. But Hitler's army can and must be destroyed. (*Loud applause.*)

Our second task, in fact, is to destroy Hitler's army and its leaders. (*Loud applause.*)

The Hitlerite blackguards have made it a rule to torture Soviet prisoners of war, to kill them by the hundred and to condemn thousands of them to death by starvation. They outrage and murder the civilian population of the occupied territories of our country: men and women, children and old folk, our brothers and sisters. They have made it their aim to enslave and exterminate the population of the Ukraine, Byelorussia, the Baltic Republics, Moldavia, the Crimea and the Caucasus. Only villains and blackguards, devoid of all honour and fallen to the level of beasts, can permit themselves such outrages against innocent, unarmed people. But this is not all. They have covered Europe with gallows and concentration camps. They have introduced the vile system of "hostages"; they shoot and hang absolutely innocent citizens taken as "hostages" because some German beast was prevented from violating women or robbing ordinary people; they have turned Europe into a prison of nations, and this they call the "New Order in Europe." We know who are the men guilty of these outrages, the builders of the "New Order in Europe"—all those newly baked governor-generals or just ordinary governors, commandants and sub-commandants. Their names are known to tens of thousands of tormented people. Let these butchers know that they will not escape responsibility for their crimes or elude the avenging hand of the tormented nations.

Our third task is to destroy the hated "New Order in Europe" and to punish its builders.

Such are our tasks. (*Loud applause.*)

Comrades, we are waging a great war of liberation. We are not waging it alone, but in conjunction with our allies. It will bring us victory over the vile enemies of mankind, over the German-fascist imperialists. On its banner is inscribed:

Long live the victory of the Anglo-Soviet-American fighting alliance! (*Applause.*)

Long live the liberation of the peoples of Europe from Hitler's tyranny! (*Applause.*)

Long live the liberty and independence of our glorious Soviet Motherland! (*Applause.*)

Execration and death to the German-fascist invaders, their State, their army, their "New Order in Europe"! (*Applause.*)

Glory to our Red Army. (*Loud applause.*)

Glory to our Navy. (*Loud applause.*)

Glory to our men and women guerillas! (*Loud and prolonged applause. All rise.*)

ORDER OF THE DAY, No. 345, OF NOVEMBER 7, 1942

COMRADES, Red Army men, commanders and political workers, men and women guerillas! Working people of the Soviet Union!

On behalf of the Soviet Government and our Bolshevik Party, I greet you and congratulate you on this day of the twenty-fifth anniversary of the victory of the great October Socialist Revolution.

A quarter of a century ago the workers and peasants, under the leadership of the Party of Bolsheviks and of the great Lenin, established in our country the Power of the Soviets. The peoples of the Soviet Union have traversed a glorious path during this period. In the course of twenty-five years our Motherland has become a mighty Socialist industrial and collective farming power. The peoples of the Soviet State, having won their freedom and independence, united in indissoluble fraternal friendship. The Soviet people were freed from all oppression, and by their stubborn labour ensured for themselves a prosperous and cultured life.

At the present time the peoples of our country are celebrating the twenty-fifth anniversary of the great October Socialist Revolution in the heat of fierce struggle against the German-fascist invaders and their accomplices in Europe.

At the beginning of this year, in the winter period, the Red Army inflicted substantial blows on the German-fascist troops. Having beaten off the attack of the Germans against Moscow, it took the initiative into its hands, passed to the offensive and drove the German troops to the west, liberating a number of regions of our country from German slavery. Thus the Red Army showed that, under certain favourable conditions, it could overcome the German-fascist troops.

In the summer, however, the situation at the front changed for the worse. Utilizing the absence of a second front, the Germans and their allies swept together all their reserves, hurled them against our Ukrainian front and pierced it. At the cost of enormous losses, the German-fascist troops succeeded in advancing in the south and

threatening Stalingrad, the Black Sea coast, Grozny and the approaches to the Trans-Caucasus.

True, the steadfastness and courage of the Red Army shattered the plans of the Germans for outflanking Moscow from the east and delivering a blow from the rear against the capital of our country. The enemy was halted at Stalingrad. But, having been halted at Stalingrad, and having already left there tens of thousands of his soldiers and officers, the enemy is throwing new divisions into battle, exerting his last efforts. The struggle on the Soviet-German front is becoming more and more tense. On its outcome depends the fate of the Soviet State, the freedom and independence of our Motherland.

Our Soviet people have passed with honour through the ordeals which have fallen to their lot and are filled with unshakable faith in victory. The war has been a stern test of the strength and stability of the Soviet system. The calculations of the German imperialists that the Soviet State would disintegrate have been completely confounded. The socialist industry, the collective farm system, the friendship of the peoples of our country, the Soviet State, have displayed their stability and invincibility. Workers and peasants, all the intelligentsia of our country, our whole rear, are honestly and self-sacrificingly working to satisfy the requirements of our front.

The Red Army is bearing the whole brunt of the war against Hitlerite Germany and its satellites. By its self-sacrificing struggle against the fascist army it has won the love and respect of all freedom-loving peoples of the world. The men and commanders of the Red Army, who previously had not had adequate military experience, have learned to smite the enemy for sure, to destroy his man-power and equipment, to frustrate his hostile plans, and steadfastly to defend our towns and villages from the foreign enslavers. The heroic defenders of Moscow and Tula, Odessa and Sevastopol, Leningrad and Stalingrad displayed examples of supreme courage, iron discipline, steadfastness and the ability to conquer. The whole of our Red Army is on a par with these heroes. The enemy has already felt on his hide the Red Army's capacity for resistance. He will learn still more of the force of the smashing blows of the Red Army.

There can be no doubt that the German invaders will again hurl themselves into new adventures. But the forces of the enemy have already been blunted and strained to the limit. During the course of the war, the Red Army has put out of action over 8,000,000 enemy men and officers. The Hitlerite Army, diluted with Rumanians, Hungarians, Italians and Finns, has now become considerably weaker than in the summer and autumn of 1941.

Comrades, Red Army men, commanders and political workers, men and women guerillas!

On your stubbornness and steadfastness, on your fighting ability and readiness to fulfil your duty to the Motherland depends the rout of the German-fascist army, the clearing of Soviet soil from the Hitlerite invaders!

We can and must clear our Soviet soil of the Hitlerite filth!

To do this it is essential:

1. *Steadfastly and stubbornly to defend the line of our front, not to permit the enemy to advance further, with all our strength to wear down the enemy, to exterminate his man-power, to destroy his equipment.*

2. *To strengthen to the utmost degree iron discipline, strict order and single command in our army, to perfect the military training of troops, and to prepare, stubbornly and persistently, a crushing blow against the enemy.*

3. *To fan the flames of the popular guerilla movement in the rear of the enemy, to devastate the enemy rear, to exterminate the German-fascist blackguards.*

Comrades! Once already the enemy has felt the force of the blows of the Red Army at Rostov, at Moscow, at Tikhvin. The day is not far distant when the enemy will feel the force of new blows of the Red Army. There will be rejoicing in our streets.

Long live the twenty-fifth anniversary of the great Socialist October Revolution!

Long live our Red Army!

Long live our Navy!

Long live our glorious men and women guerillas!

Death to the German-fascist invaders!

(Signed) J. STALIN,

Moscow.

People's Commissar for Defence.

THE ALLIED CAMPAIGN IN AFRICA ANSWERS TO ASSOCIATED PRESS MOSCOW CORRESPONDENT, NOVEMBER 13, 1942

The Moscow correspondent of the American News Agency, Associated Press, Mr. Henry Cassidy, addressed to J. V. Stalin, as Chairman of the Council of People's Commissars of the U.S.S.R., a letter in which he asked for an answer, either verbally or in writing, to three questions

of interest to the American public. In reply, Stalin sent Mr. Cassidy the following letter :

Dear Mr. Cassidy—I am answering your questions which reached me on November 12.

(1) QUESTION: *What is the Soviet view of the Allied campaign in Africa ?*

ANSWER: The Soviet view of this campaign is that it represents an outstanding fact of major importance, demonstrating the growing might of the armed forces of the Allies and opening the prospect of the disintegration of the Italo-German coalition in the nearest future.

The campaign in Africa refutes once more the sceptics who affirm that the Anglo-American leaders are not capable of organizing a serious military campaign. There can be no doubt that only first-rate organizers could carry out such important military operations as the successful landings in North Africa across the ocean, as the rapid occupation of harbours and wide territories from Casablanca to Bougie, and as the smashing of the Italo-German armies in the Western Desert, effected with such mastery.

(2) QUESTION: *How effective has this campaign been in relieving pressure on the Soviet Union, and what further aid does the Soviet Union await ?*

ANSWER: It is yet too soon to say to what extent this campaign has been effective in relieving immediate pressure on the Soviet Union, but it may confidently be said that the effect will not be a small one, and that a certain relief in pressure on the Soviet Union will result in the nearest future.

But this is not the only thing that matters. What matters, first of all, is that, since the campaign in Africa means that the initiative has passed into the hands of our Allies, this campaign radically changes the military and political situation in Europe in favour of the Anglo-Soviet-American coalition. It undermines the prestige of Hitlerite Germany as the leading force in the system of Axis powers and demoralizes Hitler's allies in Europe. It releases France from her state of lethargy, mobilizes the anti-Hitler forces of France and provides a basis for the organization of an anti-Hitler French army. It creates conditions for putting Italy out of commission and for isolating Hitlerite Germany. Finally, it creates the prerequisites for the organization of a second front in Europe nearer to Germany's vital centres, which will be of decisive importance for organizing victory over the Hitlerite tyranny.

(3) QUESTION: *What possibility is there of the Soviet offensive power in the East joining the Allies in the West to hasten final victory?*

ANSWER: There need be no doubt that the Red Army will fulfil its task with honour, as it has been fulfilling it throughout the whole war.

November 13, 1942.

With respects,
(Signed) J. STALIN.

ORDER OF THE DAY, OF JANUARY 25, 1943

To the Troops on the South-West, South, Don, North Caucasus, Voronezh, Kalinin, Volkhov and Leningrad Fronts

As a result of two months of offensive engagements, the Red Army has broken through the defences of the German-fascist troops on a wide front, routed 102 enemy divisions, captured over 200,000 prisoners, 13,000 guns and a large quantity of their war material, and advanced about 400 kilometres (250 miles). Our troops have won an important victory. The offensive of our troops continues.

I congratulate the Red Army men, commanders and political workers of the South-Western, Southern, Don, North Caucasian, Voronezh, Kalinin, Volkhov and Leningrad fronts on their victory over the German-fascist invaders and their allies—the Rumanians, Italians and Hungarians—at Stalingrad, on the Don, in the North Caucasus, at Voronezh, in the Velikie Luki area and south of Lake Ladoga.

I thank the Command and the glorious troops who have routed the Hitlerite armies at the approaches to Stalingrad, who have broken the blockade of Leningrad and liberated from the German invaders the towns of Kantemirovka, Belovodsk, Morozovsky, Millerovo, Starobelsk, Kotelnikovo, Zimovniki, Elista, Salsk, Mozdok, Nalchik, Mineralniye Vody, Pyatigorsk, Stavropol, Armavir, Valuiki, Rossosh, Ostrogozhsk, Velikie Luki, Schluesselburg, Voronezh and many other towns and thousands of populated places.

Forward to the rout of the German invaders and their expulsion from the boundaries of our Motherland!

Moscow.

January 25, 1943.

J. STALIN,
Supreme Commander-in-Chief.

ORDER OF THE DAY TO THE DON FRONT, OF
FEBRUARY 2, 1943

DON FRONT.

To the representative of the H.Q. of the Supreme Command, Marshal of Artillery Voronov, to the Commander of the troops of the Don Front, Col.-Gen. Rokossovsky.

I congratulate you and the troops of the Don Front on the successful completion of the annihilation of the enemy forces surrounded at Stalingrad. I thank all the Red Army men, commanders and political workers of the Don Front for their excellent fighting operations.

J. STALIN,

Moscow.

Supreme Commander-in-Chief.

February 2, 1943.

ORDER OF THE DAY, No. 95, OF FEBRUARY 23, 1943

COMRADES, Red Army men and Red Navy men, commanders and political workers, men and women guerillas! To-day we are celebrating the twenty-fifth anniversary of the formation of the Red Army.

A quarter of a century has passed since the Red Army was created. It was created for struggle against foreign invaders who endeavoured to enslave our country. February 23, 1918, the day when detachments of the Red Army utterly routed the troops of the German invaders near Pskov and Narva, was proclaimed the birthday of the Red Army.

In 1918-21, in stubborn struggle against foreign invaders, the Red Army defended the honour, freedom and independence of our Soviet Motherland, defended the right of the peoples of our country to build their life in the way the great Lenin had taught.

During two decades the Red Army protected the peaceful constructive labour of the Soviet people. The peoples of our country never forgot the encroachments of foreign invaders on our land, and spared no effort to strengthen the might of the Red Army, supplied it with first-class war equipment, and lovingly reared cadres of Soviet warriors.

The Red Army is an army of defence of peace and friendship among the peoples of all countries. It was created not for the conquest of foreign countries, but for the defence of the frontiers of the

Soviet country. The Red Army has always respected the rights and independence of all peoples.

But in June, 1941, Hitlerite Germany treacherously attacked our country, in ruthless and base violation of the Treaty of Non-Aggression, and the Red Army found itself compelled to march to defend its Motherland against the German invaders and to oust them from our country. Since that time the Red Army has become an army of life-and-death struggle against the Hitlerite troops, an army of avengers of the outrages and humiliation inflicted by the German-fascist blackguards on our brothers and sisters in the occupied districts of our country.

The Red Army meets the twenty-fifth anniversary of its existence at a decisive moment in the patriotic war against Hitlerite Germany and her vassals—the Italians, Hungarians, Rumanians, Finns.

Forty-two months the Red Army has been waging a heroic struggle, without parallel in history, against the invasion of the German-fascist hordes. In view of the absence of a second front in Europe, the Red Army alone bears the whole burden of the war. Nevertheless, the Red Army has not only held its own against the onslaught of the German-fascist hordes, but has become in the course of the war the terror of the fascist armies.

In the hard battles of the summer and autumn of 1942, the Red Army barred the way to the fascist beasts. Our people will remember for all time the heroic defence of Sevastopol and Odessa, the stubborn battles before Moscow and in the foothills of the Caucasus, in the Rzhev area and before Leningrad, the battle at the walls of Stalingrad, the greatest in the history of war. In these great battles our gallant Red Army men, commanders and political workers covered the standards of the Red Army with undying glory and laid the firm foundation for victory over the German-fascist armies.

Three months ago the troops of the Red Army began their offensive at the approaches to Stalingrad. Since then the initiative in military operations has remained in our hands and the pace and striking power of the offensive operations of the Red Army have not weakened. To-day, in hard winter conditions, the Red Army is advancing over a front of 1,500 kilometres (950 miles) and is achieving successes practically everywhere. In the north, near Leningrad, on the central front, at the approaches to Kharkov, in the Donets Basin, at Rostov, on the shores of the Sea of Azov and the Black Sea, the Red Army is striking blow after blow at the Hitlerite troops. In three months the Red Army has liberated from the enemy the territory of the Voronezh and Stalingrad regions, the Checheno-Ingush, North Ossetian,

Kabardino-Balkarian and Kalmyk Autonomous Republics, the Stavropol and Krasnodar Territories, the Cherkess (Circassian), Karachaisu and Adygeisu Autonomous Regions and almost the whole of the Rostov, Kharkov and Kursk Regions.

The mass expulsion of the enemy from the Soviet country has begun.

What changes have taken place during these three months? Whence these serious reverses of the Germans? What are the causes of these reverses?

The balance of forces on the Soviet-German front has changed. The fact is that fascist Germany is becoming more and more exhausted and weaker while the Soviet Union is deploying its reserves more and more and becoming ever stronger. Time is working against fascist Germany.

Hitlerite Germany, which forces the war industry of Europe to work for her, until recently enjoyed superiority in equipment over the Soviet Union, above all in tanks and aircraft. It was here that she had the advantage. But in twenty months of war the situation has changed. Thanks to the self-sacrificing labour of working men and women, engineers and technicians of the war industry of the U.S.S.R., the production of tanks, planes and guns has increased in the course of the war. During this period on the Soviet-German front the enemy has suffered enormous losses in war material, particularly in tanks, planes and guns. In three months of the Red Army's offensive in the winter of 1942-43 alone, the Germans lost over 7,000 tanks, 4,000 planes, 17,000 guns and large quantities of other arms.

Of course, the Germans will try to make good these losses, but this will not be so easy to do, as the enemy will require no little time to make up for these enormous losses in war material. And time does not wait.

When Hitlerite Germany began the war against the U.S.S.R. she enjoyed numerical superiority in troops already mobilized and ready for battle as compared with the Red Army. It was here that she had the advantage. In twenty months, however, the situation has changed in this sphere also. In defensive and offensive battles, the Red Army, since the beginning of the war, has put out of action about 9,000,000 German-fascist officers and men, of whom no less than 4,000,000 were killed on the battlefield. The Rumanian, Italian and Hungarian armies hurled by Hitler on to the Soviet-German front have been completely routed. In the last three months alone the Red Army has routed 112 enemy divisions, killing more than 700,000 men and taking over 300,000 prisoners.

The German Command will certainly make every effort to make good these tremendous losses. But, first, the weakness of the German army is the shortage of man-power reserves, and consequently it is not known from what sources these losses will be replaced. Secondly, even supposing that, by hook or by crook, the Germans are able to scrape together the necessary number of men, it will require no little time to assemble and train them. And time does not wait.

The Hitlerite army entered the war against the Soviet Union with almost two years' experience of conducting large-scale military operations in Europe, applying the most modern means of warfare. The Red Army, in the initial stages of the war, naturally had not yet had, and could not have had, such military experience. It was here that the German-fascist army had the advantage. In twenty months, however, the situation has changed in this sphere. In the course of the war the Red Army has become a seasoned army. It has learned to smite the enemy for certain, taking into account both his weak and strong points, as is demanded by modern military science. Hundreds of thousands, millions of Red Army men have become masters of their weapons—rifles, sabres, machine-guns, artillery, mortars, tanks, aircraft, and sappers' equipment. Tens of thousands of Red Army commanders have mastered the art of commanding troops. They have learned to combine personal daring and courage with skill in directing their troops on the battlefield, having discarded foolish and harmful linear tactics and having firmly adopted the tactics of manoeuvre.

It cannot be considered an accident that the Red Army Command not only liberates Soviet soil from the enemy but does not let the enemy leave our soil alive, carrying out such important operations as the encirclement and annihilation of enemy armies which can well serve as examples of military art. This is undoubtedly a sign of the maturity of our commanders.

There can be no doubt that only the correct strategy of the Red Army Command, and the flexible tactics of our commanders who execute it, could have resulted in such an outstanding fact as the encirclement and annihilation at Stalingrad of an enormous picked army of Germans, numbering 330,000 men.

In this respect, things are far from well with the Germans. Their strategy is defective because, as a general rule, it under-estimates the strength and possibilities of the enemy and over-estimates its own forces. Their tactics are hackneyed, for they try to make events at the front fit in with this or that article of the regulations. The Germans are accurate and precise in their operations when the situation permits

them to act as required by the regulations. That is where their strength lies. They become helpless when the situation becomes complicated and ceases to "correspond" to this or that article of the regulations, but calls for the adoption of an independent decision not provided for in the regulations. It is here that their main weakness lies.

Such are the causes which determined the defeat of the German troops and the successes of the Red Army during the past three months.

It does not follow from this, however, that the Hitlerite army is done for and that it now only remains for the Red Army to pursue it to the western frontiers of our country. To think so would be to indulge in unwise and harmful self-delusion. To think so would be to over-estimate our own strength, to under-estimate the strength of the enemy and to adopt an adventurist course. The enemy has suffered defeat, but he is not yet vanquished. The German-fascist army is now going through a crisis as a result of the blows received from the Red Army, but this does not mean that it cannot recover. The struggle against the German invaders is not yet ended—it is as yet only developing and flaring up. It would be stupid to suppose that the Germans will give up even a kilometre of our soil without fighting.

The Red Army has before it a grim struggle against a perfidious, cruel and still strong enemy. This struggle will require time, sacrifices, exertion of our forces and the mobilization of all our potentialities. We have begun the liberation of the Soviet Ukraine from German oppression, but millions of Ukrainians still languish under the yoke of the German enslavers. The German invaders and their vassals still lord it in Byelorussia, Lithuania, Latvia, Esthonia, in Moldavia, in the Crimea, in Karelia. The enemy armies have been dealt powerful blows, but the enemy has not yet been vanquished. The German invaders are resisting furiously, are launching counter-attacks, are striving to cling to their defence lines, and may embark on fresh adventures. That is why there can be no place for complacency, carelessness or conceit in our ranks.

The whole Soviet people rejoices in the Red Army's victories. But the Red Army men, commanders and political workers should firmly remember the precepts of our teacher Lenin. "The first thing is not to be carried away by victory and not to get conceited; the second thing is to consolidate one's victory; the third thing is to finish off the enemy."

In the name of the liberation of our country from the hated enemy, in the name of final victory over the German-fascist invaders—I order:

(1) Indefatigably to perfect military training and to strengthen discipline, order and organization throughout the Red Army and Navy.

(2) To deal stronger blows against the enemy troops, to pursue the enemy indefatigably and persistently, without allowing him to consolidate himself on defence lines. To give him no respite by day or night, to cut his communications, to surround his troops and annihilate them if they refuse to lay down their arms.

(3) To fan brighter the flames of guerilla warfare in the rear of the enemy, to destroy the enemy's communications, to blow up railway bridges, to frustrate the transport of enemy troops and the supply of arms and ammunition, to blow up and set fire to army stores, to attack enemy garrisons, to prevent the retreating enemy from burning down our villages and towns, to help the advancing Red Army heart and soul and by all possible means.

In this lies the guarantee of our victory.

Comrades, Red Army men and Red Navy men, commanders and political workers, men and women guerillas!

On behalf of the Soviet Government and our Bolshevik Party, I greet you and congratulate you on the twenty-fifth anniversary of the Red Army.

Long live our great Motherland!

Long live our glorious Red Army, our valiant Navy, our brave men and women guerillas!

Long live the Party of Bolsheviks, the inspirer and organizer of the Red Army's victories!

Death to the German invaders!

J. STALIN,

Moscow.

Supreme Commander-in-Chief.

ORDER OF THE DAY, No. 195, OF MAY 1, 1943

COMRADES, Red Army and Red Navy men, commanders and political workers, men and women guerillas, working men and women, men and women peasants, people engaged in intellectual work! Brothers and sisters who have temporarily fallen under the yoke of the German oppressors!

In the name of the Soviet Government and of our Bolshevik Party I greet and congratulate you on the occasion of the First of May

The peoples of our country meet May the First in the stern days of the Patriotic War. They have entrusted their destiny to the Red Army, and their hopes have not been misplaced. The Soviet warriors have stood up self-sacrificingly in defence of their Motherland, and for nearly two years already have been defending the honour and independence of the peoples of the Soviet Union.

During the winter campaign of 1942-43 the Red Army inflicted grave defeats on the Hitlerite troops, annihilated an enormous amount of the enemy's man-power and equipment, surrounded and annihilated two enemy armies at Stalingrad, took prisoner over 300,000 enemy men and officers and liberated hundreds of Soviet towns and thousands of villages from the German yoke.

The winter campaign demonstrated that the offensive power of the Red Army has grown. Our troops not only hurled the Germans out of territory which the enemy had seized in the summer of 1942, but occupied a number of towns and districts which had been in the enemy's hands for about a year and a half. It proved beyond German strength to avert the Red Army's offensive.

Even for its counter-offensive in a narrow sector of the front in the Kharkov area, the Hitlerite command found itself compelled to transfer more than thirty fresh divisions from Western Europe. The Germans calculated on surrounding the Soviet troops in the Kharkov area and on arranging a "German Stalingrad" for our troops. However, the attempt of the Hitlerite command to take revenge for Stalingrad has collapsed.

Simultaneously, the victorious troops of our Allies routed the Italo-German troops in the area of Libya and Tripolitania, cleared these areas of the enemy, and now continue to batter them in the area of Tunisia, while the valiant Anglo-American air forces strike shattering blows at the military and industrial centres of Germany and Italy, foreshadowing the formation of the second front in Europe against the Italo-German fascists.

Thus, for the first time since the beginning of the war, the blow at the enemy from the East, dealt by the Red Army, merged with a blow from the West, dealt by the troops of our Allies, into one joint blow.

All these circumstances taken together have shaken the Hitlerite war machine to its foundations, have changed the course of the world war and created the necessary prerequisites for victory over Hitlerite Germany.

As a result, the enemy was forced to admit a serious aggravation of his position, and raised a hue and cry about a military crisis. True,

the enemy tries to disguise his critical situation by clamour about "total" mobilization, but no amount of clamour can do away with the fact that the fascist camp is really going through a grave crisis.

The crisis in the fascist camp finds expression, in the first place, in the fact that the enemy has had openly to renounce his original plan for a "lightning war." Talk about a lightning war is no longer in vogue in the enemy camp—the vociferous babble about lightning war has given place to sad lamentations about the inevitability of a protracted war. While previously the German-fascist command boasted of the tactics of a lightning offensive, now these tactics have been discarded, and the German-fascists boast no more of how they have conducted or are intending to conduct a lightning offensive, but of how they managed skilfully to slip away from under the flanking blow of the British troops in North Africa, or from encirclement by Soviet troops in the area of Demyansk. The fascist Press is full of boastful reports to the effect that the German troops succeeded in making good their escape from the front and avoiding another Stalingrad in one or another sector of the Eastern front or the Tunisian front. Evidently the Hitlerite strategists have nothing else to boast about.

Secondly, the crisis in the fascist camp finds expression in that the fascists begin to speak more frequently about peace. To judge by reports in the foreign Press, one can conclude that the Germans would like to obtain peace with Britain and the U.S.A. on condition that they draw away from the Soviet Union, or, on the contrary, that they would like to obtain peace with the Soviet Union on condition that it draws away from Britain and the U.S.A. Themselves treacherous to the marrow, the German imperialists have the nerve to apply their own yardstick to the Allies, expecting some one of the Allies to swallow the bait. Obviously, it is not on account of good living that the Germans babble about peace. The babble about peace in the fascist camp only indicates that they are going through a grave crisis. But of what kind of peace can one talk with imperialist bandits from the German-fascist camp, who have flooded Europe with blood and covered it with gallows? Is it not clear that only the utter routing of the Hitlerite armies and the unconditional surrender of Hitlerite Germany can bring peace to Europe? Is it not because the German-fascists sense the coming catastrophe that they babble about peace?

The German and Italian fascist camp is experiencing a grave crisis and faces catastrophe.

This, of course, does not mean that catastrophe has already come for Hitlerite Germany. No, it does not mean that. Hitlerite Germany and her army have been shaken and are experiencing a crisis,

but they have not yet been smashed. It would be naïve to think that the catastrophe will come of itself, will drift in with the tide. Another two or three powerful blows from west and east are needed, such as that dealt to the Hitlerite army in the past five or six months, for the catastrophe to become an accomplished fact for Hitlerite Germany.

For this reason the peoples of the Soviet Union and their Red Army, as well as our Allies and their armies, still face a stern and hard struggle for complete victory over the Hitlerite fiends. This struggle will demand of them great sacrifices, enormous staying power, iron staunchness. They must mobilize all their forces and potentialities to smash the enemy and thus blaze the road to peace.

Comrades! The Soviet people displays the greatest solicitude for its Red Army. It is ready to give all its forces for the further strengthening of the military might of the Soviet country. In less than four months the peoples of the Soviet Union have donated more than seven milliard roubles to the Red Army Fund. This demonstrates once more that the war against the Germans is a truly national war of all the peoples inhabiting the Soviet Union. Without folding their hands, staunchly and courageously facing the hardships caused by the war, workers, collective farmers and intellectuals are working in factories and institutions, on transport, in collective farms and State farms. But the war against the German-fascist invaders demands that the Red Army receives still more guns, tanks, aircraft, machine-guns, automatic rifles, mortars, ammunition, equipment, provisions. Hence it is necessary that workers, collective farmers and all Soviet intellectuals work with redoubled energy for the front.

It is necessary that all our people and all institutions in the rear work with the efficiency and precision of clockwork. Let us remember the behest of our great Lenin: *"Once war has proved inevitable—everything for the war, and the least slackness and lack of energy must be punished by war-time laws."*

In return for the confidence and solicitude of its people, the Red Army must strike at the enemy still more strongly, exterminate the German invaders without mercy, uninterruptedly drive them out of our Soviet land. In the course of the war the Red Army has acquired rich military experience. Hundreds of thousands of Red Army men have learned to wield their arms to perfection. Many commanders have learned skilfully to direct troops on the field of action. But it would be unwise to rest at that. Red Army men must learn to wield their arms well, commanders must acquire mastery in the conduct of battles. But even this is not enough. In military matters, and especially in modern warfare, one cannot stand still. To stand still in

military matters means to lag behind, and, as is known, those who lag behind are beaten. Therefore, the main point now is that the entire Red Army must day in, day out, perfect its combat training, that all commanders and men of the Red Army must study the experience of the war, must learn to fight in such a manner as is needed for the cause of victory.

Comrades, Red Army and Red Navy men, commanders and political workers, men and women guerillas! While greeting and congratulating you on the occasion of the First of May,

I order:—

(1) that all Red Army men—infantrymen, mortar gunners, artillerymen, tankmen, airmen, sappers, signallers, cavalrymen—indefatigably continue to perfect their fighting mastery, to execute precisely the orders of commanders, the requirements of Army regulations and instructions, sacredly to observe discipline, and to maintain organization and order;

(2) that commanders of all units and branches of the service become expert in leading troops, skilfully organize the co-ordination of all arms and direct them in battle; that they study the enemy, improve reconnaissance—the eyes and ears of the army—and remember that without this one cannot beat the enemy for certain; that they raise the efficiency of the work of military headquarters and see that headquarters of Red Army units and formations become exemplary organs for the direction of troops; that they raise the work of the army rear establishments to the level of the requirements of modern warfare, and bear firmly in mind that on the full and timely supply of troops with ammunition, equipment and provisions depends the outcome of combat operations;

(3) that the whole Red Army consolidates and develops the successes of the winter battles, that it does not surrender to the enemy a single inch of our soil, that it be prepared for decisive battles with the German-fascist invaders, displaying in defence the stubbornness and staunchness inherent in soldiers of our army, and in attack, resolution, correct co-ordination of troops and bold manœuvre on the field of action, crowned by the encirclement and annihilation of the enemy;

(4) that men and women guerillas strike powerful blows at enemy rear establishments, communications, military stores, headquarters and factories, destroy the enemy's lines of communication; that they draw wide strata of the Soviet population in the areas occupied by the enemy into active struggle for liberation, and thus save Soviet citizens

from being driven away to German slavery and from extermination by the Hitlerite beasts; that they take merciless revenge on the German invaders for the blood and tears of our wives and children, mothers and fathers, brothers and sisters; that they assist the Red Army heart and soul in its struggle with the base Hitlerite enslavers.

Comrades!

The enemy has already felt the weight of the shattering blows of our troops. The time is approaching when the Red Army, together with the armies of our Allies, will break the backbone of the fascist beast.

Long live our glorious Motherland!

Long live our valiant Red Army!

Long live our valiant Navy!

Long live our gallant men and women guerillas!

Death to the German invaders!

(Signed) J. STALIN,
Supreme Commander-in-Chief, Marshal of the Soviet Union.
Moscow.

SOVIET-POLISH RELATIONS—ANSWERS TO *THE TIMES* AND *NEW YORK TIMES* CORRESPONDENT

The Moscow correspondent of the London Times and the New York Times, Mr. Ralph Parker, addressed a letter to the Chairman of the Council of People's Commissars of the U.S.S.R., Marshal Stalin, in which he asked for answers to two questions of interest to the British and American public. Stalin replied with the following letter:

DEAR MR. PARKER,

On May 3 I received your two questions concerning Polish-Soviet relations. Here are my answers:

QUESTION 1: Does the Government of the U.S.S.R. desire to see a strong and independent Poland after the defeat of Hitlerite Germany?

ANSWER: Unquestionably, it does.

QUESTION 2: On what fundamentals is it your opinion that relations between Poland and the U.S.S.R. should be based after the war?

ANSWER: Upon the fundamentals of solid good neighbourly relations and mutual respect, or, should the Polish people so desire—

upon the fundamentals of alliance providing for mutual assistance against the Germans as the chief enemies of the Soviet Union and Poland.

May 4, 1943.

With respect,
(Signed) J. STALIN.

CABLES TO MR. CHURCHILL AND MR. ROOSEVELT ON THE NORTH AFRICAN VICTORY, MAY 7, 1943

On the night of May 7-8, J. V. Stalin, as Chairman of the Council of People's Commissars of the U.S.S.R., sent the following cables to the Prime Minister of Great Britain, Mr. Winston Churchill, and the President of the United States, Mr. Franklin D. Roosevelt :

TO THE PRIME MINISTER, MR. WINSTON CHURCHILL, LONDON,

I congratulate you and the valiant British and American troops on the brilliant victory which has resulted in the liberation of Bizerta and Tunis from Hitler's tyranny. I wish you further successes.

J. STALIN.

TO PRESIDENT ROOSEVELT, WASHINGTON,

I congratulate you and the valiant American and British troops on the brilliant victory which has resulted in the liberation of Bizerta and Tunis from Hitler's tyranny. I wish you further successes.

J. STALIN.

THE DISSOLUTION OF THE COMMUNIST INTERNATIONAL —ANSWER TO REUTER'S CORRESPONDENT, MAY 28, 1943

Mr. Harold King, Moscow correspondent of Reuter's Agency, addressed a letter to J. V. Stalin, Chairman of the Council of People's Commissars of the U.S.S.R., in which he requested an answer to a question of interest to the British public. Marshal Stalin replied with the following letter :

DEAR MR. KING,—I have received your request to answer a question referring to the dissolution of the Communist International. I am sending you my answer.

QUESTION: British comment on the decision to dissolve the Comintern has been very favourable. What is the Soviet view of this matter and of its bearing on future international relations ?

ANSWER: The dissolution of the Communist International is proper and timely because it facilitates the organization of the common onslaught of all freedom-loving nations against the common enemy—Hitlerism.

The dissolution of the Communist International is proper because:

(a) It exposes the lie of the Hitlerites to the effect that "Moscow" allegedly intends to intervene in the life of other nations and to "Bolshevize" them. From now on an end is put to this lie.

(b) It exposes the calumny of the adversaries of Communism within the Labour movement to the effect that Communist Parties in various countries are allegedly acting not in the interests of their people but on orders from outside. From now on an end is also put to this calumny.

(c) It facilitates the work of patriots of all countries for uniting the progressive forces of their respective countries, regardless of party or religious faith, into a single camp of national liberation—for unfolding the struggle against fascism.

(d) It facilitates the work of patriots of all countries for uniting all freedom-loving peoples into a single international camp for the fight against the menace of world domination by Hitlerism, thus clearing the way for the future organization of a companionship of nations based upon their equality.

I think that all these circumstances taken together will result in a further strengthening of the United Front of the Allies and other united nations in their fight for victory over Hitlerite tyranny.

I feel that the dissolution of the Communist International is perfectly timely—because it is exactly now, when the fascist beast is exerting its last strength, that it is necessary to organize the common onslaught of freedom-loving countries to finish off this beast and to deliver the people from fascist oppression.

May 28, 1943.

With respect,

(Signed) J. STALIN.

ORDER OF THE DAY, OF JULY 24, 1943

Addressed to Army-Generals Rokossovsky and Vatutin and Colonel-General Popov.

YESTERDAY, on July 23, as the result of the successful operations of our troops, the complete liquidation of the German July offensive

was accomplished in the areas south of Orel and north of Byelgorod in the direction of Kursk.

On the morning of July 5 the German-fascist troops, with large forces of tanks and infantry, supported by large air forces, passed to the offensive in the Orel-Kursk and Byelgorod-Kursk directions. The Germans hurled into attack against our troops their main forces, concentrated in the areas of Orel and Byelgorod.

As is now clear, the German Command sent into action: in the Orel-Kursk direction—seven tank, two motorized and eleven infantry divisions; and in the Byelgorod-Kursk direction—ten tank, one motorized and seven infantry divisions. Thus altogether the enemy hurled into attack seventeen tank, three motorized and eighteen German infantry divisions.

Concentrating these forces on narrow sectors of the front, the German Command reckoned, by concentric blows from the north and from the south in the general direction towards Kursk, on piercing our defences, and on encircling and wiping out our troops stationed along the arc of the Kursk salient.

This new German offensive did not take our troops unawares. They were prepared not only to repulse the German offensive, but also to deal mighty counter-blows. At the cost of tremendous losses in man-power and equipment, the enemy succeeded in driving a wedge into our defences to a depth of about nine kilometres (six miles) in the Orel-Kursk direction and of 15 to 35 kilometres (10 to 22 miles) in the Byelgorod-Kursk direction.

In fierce engagements our troops wore down and bled white the picked German divisions, and followed this up by violent counter-blows by which they not only hurled back the enemy and completely restored the position they had occupied before July 5, but also broke through the enemy's defences and advanced 15 to 25 kilometres (10 to 16 miles) towards Orel.

The battles fought for the liquidation of the German offensive have demonstrated the high military skill of our troops. Unprecedented examples of stubbornness, steadfastness and heroism have been displayed by the men and commanders of all arms, including artillery and mortar gunners, tankmen and airmen.

Thus the German plan for a summer offensive can be considered as having failed completely. Thus the legend that in a summer offensive the Germans are always successful, and that the Soviet troops are compelled to retreat, is refuted.

In the fighting for the liquidation of the German offensive, the troops of Lt.-Gen. Pukhov, Lt.-Gen. Galinin, Lt.-Gen. of Tank

Forces Rodin, Lt.-Gen. Romanenko, Lt.-Gen. Kolpakchi, Lt.-Gen. Chistyakov, Lt.-Gen. of Tank Forces Katukov, Lt.-Gen. of Tank Forces Rotmistrov, Lt.-Gen. Zhadov, Lt.-Gen. Shumilov, Lt.-Gen. Kryuchenkin, and airmen of air formations under Col.-Gen. of Aviation Golovanov, Lt.-Gen. of Aviation Krasovsky, Lt.-Gen. of Aviation Rudenko and Lt.-Gen. of Aviation Naumenko, particularly distinguished themselves.

During the engagements from July 5-23, the enemy suffered the following losses: Officers and men killed, over 70,000; tanks destroyed or disabled, 2,900; self-propelling guns, 195; field guns, 844; planes destroyed, 1,392; and motor vehicles, over 5,000.

I congratulate you and the troops under your command on the successful liquidation of the German summer offensive. I express my gratitude to all men, commanders and political workers of the troops under your command for their excellent operations.

Immortal glory to the heroes who fell in the fight for the freedom and honour of our Motherland!

(Signed) J. STALIN,

*Supreme Commander-in-Chief, Marshal of the Soviet Union.
Moscow.*

ORDER OF THE DAY, OF AUGUST 5, 1943

*Addressed to Colonel-Generals Popov, Sokolovsky, and Koniev, and
Army-Generals Rokossovsky and Vatutin.*

TO-DAY, August 5, the troops on the Bryansk front, with the support on their flanks of the troops of the Western and Central fronts, as a result of violent engagements captured the town of Orel.

To-day also the troops of the Steppe and Voronezh fronts broke the resistance of the enemy and captured the town of Byelgorod.

One month ago, on July 5, the Germans began their summer offensive from the areas of Orel and Byelgorod in order to surround and wipe out our troops in the Kursk salient and to occupy Kursk. Repulsing all attempts of the enemy to break through to Kursk from the direction of Orel and Byelgorod, our troops themselves went over to the offensive and on August 5, exactly one month after the beginning of the July offensive of the Germans, re-occupied Orel and Byelgorod.

Thus the German myth that the Soviet troops are allegedly incapable of waging a successful offensive in the summer has now been dispelled.

To commemorate the victories won, the 5th, 129th and 380th Infantry Divisions, which were the first to break into the town of Orel and liberate it, will be named Orel Divisions, and henceforth they will be named the 5th Orel Infantry Division, the 129th Orel Infantry Division, the 380th Orel Infantry Division.

The 89th Guards and 305th Infantry Divisions, which were the first to break into the town of Byelgorod and to liberate it, will be named Byelgorod Divisions and will henceforth be named the 89th Guards Byelgorod Infantry Division and the 305th Byelgorod Infantry Division.

To-day, August 5, at 24.00 hours (Moscow time), the capital of our country, Moscow, will salute our valiant troops who liberated Orel and Byelgorod with 12 salvoes from 120 guns.

For excellent offensive operations I express my thanks to all the troops commanded by you who took part in the operations to liberate Orel and Byelgorod.

Eternal glory to the heroes who fell in the fight for the freedom of our Motherland!

Death to the German invaders!

(Signed) J. STALIN,
Supreme Commander-in-Chief, Marshal of the Soviet Union.
Moscow.

ORDER OF THE DAY, OF NOVEMBER 6, 1943

Addressed to Army-General Vatutin

AT dawn to-day, November 6, troops of the First Ukrainian front, as a result of a vigorously effected operation and daring outflanking manœuvre, captured by storm the capital of the Soviet Ukraine, the city of Kiev—the largest industrial centre and most important strategical centre of German defence on the right bank of the Dnieper.

With the capture of Kiev our troops have seized the most important and most advantageous bridgehead on the right bank of the Dnieper, which is of great importance for driving the Germans from the territory of the Ukraine west of the Dnieper.

In the fighting for the liberation of the city of Kiev the following troops distinguished themselves: Troops commanded by Colonel-General Moskalenko, Lieutenant-General Chernyakhovsky, tank troops commanded by Lieutenant-General Rybalko, airmen commanded by Lieutenant-General of Aviation Krassovsky and artillery commanded by Major-General of Artillery Korolkov.

Particular distinction was won by the 167th Sumy Infantry Division (Major-General Melnikov), twice awarded the Order of the Red Banner; the 232nd Sumy Infantry Division (Major-General Ulitin); 340th Sumy Infantry Division (Colonel Zubarev); 163rd Romny Infantry Division (Colonel Karlov); 240th Infantry Division (Colonel Umansky); 136th Infantry Division (Colonel Puzikov); 180th Infantry Division (Major-General Shmelev); the First Independent Czechoslovak Brigade in the U.S.S.R. (Colonel Svoboda); 74th Infantry Division (Colonel Kuznetsov); 23rd Infantry Division (Lieutenant-Colonel Shcherbakov); 30th Infantry Division (Colonel Yankovsky); 218th Infantry Division (Major-General Sklyarev); 121st Rylsk Infantry Division (Major-General Ladygin); 141st Infantry Division (Colonel Rassalikov); 226th Glukhov Infantry Division (Colonel Petrenko); 5th Stalingrad Guards Tank Corps (Lieutenant-General of Tank Troops Kravchenko); 7th Guards Tank Corps (Major-General Suleikov); 291st Voronezh Attack Air Division (Colonel Votruk); 202nd Middle Don Bomber Air Division (Colonel Nechipurenko); 4th Attack Guards Air Division (Major-General of Aviation Baidukov); 264th Attack Air Division (Lieutenant-Colonel Klobukov); 256th Fighter Air Division (Colonel Gerassimov); 8th Red Banner Fighter Air Division (Lieutenant-Colonel Chubikov); 208th Red Banner Night Short-Range Bomber Air Division (Colonel Yuzeyev); 10th Stalingrad Guards Fighter Air Division (Colonel Sryvkin); 235th Stalingrad Fighter Air Division (Major-General of Aviation Lakeyev); 17th Artillery Division (Major-General of Artillery Volkinshtein); 13th Artillery Division (Major-General of Artillery Krasnokutsky); 3rd Mortar Guards Division (Colonel Kolessnikov); 112th Red Banner Artillery Regiment (Lieutenant-Colonel Tsessar); 805th Howitzer Regiment (Major Teterin); 12th Independent Mortar Brigade (Lieutenant-Colonel Nemov); 9th Anti-Tank Guards Artillery Brigade (Lieutenant-Colonel Chernov); 491st Mortar Regiment (Major Plakhunov); 492nd Mortar Regiment (Major Glushchenko); 222nd Anti-Tank Artillery Regiment (Major Kodyakov); 316th Anti-Tank Guards Artillery Regiment (Lieutenant-Colonel Korozin); 868th Red Banner Anti-Tank Artillery Regiment (Major Chekh); 1,666th Anti-Tank Artillery Regiment (Major Berezin); 1,075th Anti-Tank Artillery Regiment (Major Andreyev); 4th Red Banner Guards Anti-Tank Artillery Regiment (Lieutenant-Colonel Ponomartsev); 24th Guards Artillery Brigade (Colonel Brazgold); 60th Independent Spotter Air Squadron (Captain Rastorguyev); 811th Independent Reconnaissance Artillery Battalion (Captain Barinov); 8th Anti-Aircraft

Artillery Division (Colonel Emelyanov); 21st Anti-Aircraft Artillery Division (Colonel Gudkov); 268th Independent Engineering Battalion (Captain Chechishvili); 7th Independent Engineering Battalion (Major Zhukov); 1,505th Independent Engineering Battalion (Major Artemyev); First Artillery Guards Brigade (Colonel Kers); 65th Guards Mortar Regiment (Major Pavlov); 98th Guards Mortar Regiment (Lieutenant-Colonel Tikhonov); 1,157th Artillery Regiment (Lieutenant-Colonel Nazarenko); 497th Mortar Regiment (Major Mazanov); 6th Guards Tank Corps (Major-General of Tank Troops Panfilov); 839th Howitzer Regiment (Lieutenant-Colonel Chistyakov); 3rd Guards Light Artillery Brigade (Colonel Zhagalov); 59th Independent Tank Regiment (Major Skornyakov); 150th Independent Tank Brigade (Colonel Ugryumov).

To commemorate the victory achieved, the name of "Kiev" shall be conferred on the formations and units which distinguished themselves in the fighting for the liberation of the city of Kiev.

The 202nd Middle Don Bomber Air Division, the 10th Stalingrad Guards Fighter Air Division and the 235th Stalingrad Fighter Air Division, which have distinguished themselves for the second time in fighting the German invaders, shall be recommended for decoration with the Order of the Red Banner.

The first Independent Czechoslovak Brigade of the U.S.S.R., which distinguished itself in the fighting for the liberation of Kiev, shall be recommended for decoration with the Order of Suvorov (2nd Class).

To-day, November 6, at 17.00 hours (Moscow time), the capital of our Motherland, Moscow, shall, on behalf of our Motherland, salute with 24 artillery salvoes from 324 guns, our gallant troops which liberated the city of Kiev.

For excellent military operations I thank all the troops under your command which took part in the fighting to liberate Kiev.

Eternal glory to the heroes who fell in the struggle for the freedom and independence of our Motherland!

Death to the German invaders!

J. STALIN,

*Supreme Commander-in-Chief, Marshal of the Soviet Union,
Moscow.*

SPEECH AT CELEBRATION MEETING OF THE MOSCOW
SOVIET OF WORKING PEOPLE'S DEPUTIES AND MOSCOW
PARTY AND PUBLIC ORGANIZATIONS, NOVEMBER 6, 1943

COMRADES: To-day the people of the Soviet Union are celebrating the 26th Anniversary of the great October Socialist Revolution.

For the third time our country is marking the anniversary of her people's revolution in the conditions of the Patriotic War.

In October 1941, our Motherland lived through hard days. The enemy was approaching the capital and he encircled Leningrad from the land. Our troops were compelled to retreat. It demanded enormous efforts by the army and the exertion of all the forces of the people to check the enemy and deal him a serious blow before Moscow.

By October 1942, the danger to our Motherland had become even greater. The enemy stood then barely 120 kilometres (75 miles) from Moscow, had broken into Stalingrad and had entered the foothills of the Caucasus. But even in those grave days the army and the people did not lose heart, but steadfastly endured all trials. They found in themselves the strength to check the enemy and deal him an answering blow. True to the behests of the great Lenin, they defended the achievements of the October Revolution without sparing their strength or their lives. As is well known, these efforts of the army and the people were not in vain.

Soon after the October days of last year, our troops went over to the offensive and inflicted new, powerful blows on the Germans, first at Stalingrad, in the Caucasus and in the area of the middle reaches of the Don, and then, at the beginning of 1943, at Velikie Luki, before Leningrad and in the area of Rzhev and Vyazma. Since then the Red Army has never let the initiative out of its hands. Throughout the summer of this year its blows became harder and harder, its military mastery grew with every month. Since then our troops have won big victories, and the Germans have suffered one defeat after another. However hard the enemy tried, he still failed to gain any success of the least importance on the Soviet-German front.

I. A YEAR MARKING A RADICAL TURN IN THE COURSE OF THE WAR

The past year, from the 25th to the 26th anniversaries of the October Revolution, marked a turn in the Patriotic War.

It was a turning-point above all because in this year the Red

Army for the first time in the war succeeded in carrying through a big summer offensive against the German troops, and under the blows of our forces the German-fascist troops were compelled hurriedly to give up territory seized by them, not infrequently saving themselves from encirclement by flight and abandoning on the battlefield huge quantities of war material, stores of armaments and ammunition and large numbers of wounded officers and men.

Thus, the successes of our summer campaign in the second half of this year continued and crowned the successes achieved in our winter campaign at the beginning of this year.

Now, when the Red Army, developing the successes of the winter campaign, has inflicted a mighty blow on the German troops in the summer, it is possible to consider as finally dead and buried the fairy tale that the Red Army is incapable of conducting a successful offensive in summer. The past year has shown that the Red Army can advance in summer just as well as in winter.

In the course of the past year, as a result of these offensive operations, our troops succeeded in fighting their way forward from 500 kilometres (312 miles) in the central part of the front and up to 1,300 kilometres (812 miles) in the south (*applause*), liberating nearly 1,000,000 square kilometres (390,000 square miles) of territory, i.e., almost two-thirds of the Soviet soil temporarily seized by the enemy, while the enemy troops were being thrown back from Vladikavkaz to Kherson, from Elista to Krivoi Rog, from Stalingrad to Kiev, from Voronezh to Gomel, from Vyazma and Rzhev to the approaches of Orsha and Vitebsk.

Having no faith in the stability of their past successes on the Soviet-German front, the Germans already, over a long period, built powerful defence zones, particularly along the big rivers. But in this year's battles neither rivers nor powerful fortifications saved the Germans. Our troops shattered the German defences, and in only three months of the summer of 1943 skilfully forced four important water barriers—the Northern Donets, Desna, Sozh and Dnieper. I do not even mention such barriers as the German defences in the area of the river Mius, west of Rostov, and the defences in the area of the river Molochnaya, near Melitopol. At present the Red Army is successfully battering the enemy on the other side of the Dnieper.

This year marked a turning-point also because the Red Army was able in a comparatively short time to grind down the most experienced veteran cadres of the German-fascist troops, and at the same time to steel and multiply its own cadres in successful offensive battles in the course of the year. In the battles on the Soviet-German front during

the past year, the German-fascist Army lost over 4,000,000 officers and men, including not less than 1,800,000 killed. Moreover, during this year the Germans lost over 14,000 planes, over 25,000 tanks and not less than 40,000 guns.

The German-fascist army to-day is not what it was at the outbreak of the war. Whereas at the outbreak of the war it had sufficient numbers of experienced cadres, now it has been diluted with newly baked, young, inexperienced officers whom the Germans are hurriedly throwing on to the front, as they have neither the necessary reserve of officers, nor the time to train them.

Altogether different is the picture presented to-day by the Red Army. Its cadres have grown and become steeled in successful offensive battles during the past year. The numbers of its fighting cadres are growing and will continue to grow, since the existence of the necessary officer reserve gives it time and opportunity to train young officer cadres and promote them to responsible posts.

It is characteristic that instead of the 240 divisions which faced our front last year, of which 179 divisions were German, this year the Red Army front is faced by 257 divisions, of which 207 divisions are German. The Germans, evidently, count on compensating for the lowered quality of their divisions by increasing their number. However, the defeat of the Germans during the past year shows that it is impossible to compensate for deterioration in the quality of divisions by increasing their number.

From the purely military point of view, the defeat of the German troops on our front by the close of this year was predetermined by two major events: the battle of Stalingrad and the battle of Kursk.

The battle of Stalingrad ended in the encirclement of a German Army 300,000 strong, its rout and the capture of about one-third of the encircled troops. To form an idea of the scale of the slaughter, unparalleled in history, which took place on the battlefields of Stalingrad, one must realize that after the battle of Stalingrad was over, 147,200 bodies of killed German officers and men and 46,700 bodies of killed Soviet officers and men were found and buried. Stalingrad signified the decline of the German-fascist army. After the Stalingrad slaughter, as is known, the Germans were unable to recover.

As for the battle of Kursk, it ended in the rout of the two main groups of the attacking German-fascist troops, and in our troops passing over to a counter-offensive, which subsequently turned into the powerful Red Army summer offensive. The battle of Kursk began with the German offensive against Kursk from the north and south. This was the last attempt of the Germans to carry out a big summer

offensive and, in the event of its success, to recoup their losses. As is well known, the offensive ended in failure, the Red Army not only repulsed the German offensive, but itself passed over to the offensive and, by a series of consecutive blows, in the course of the summer period hurled the German-fascist troops back beyond the Dnieper.

While the battle of Stalingrad heralded the decline of the German-fascist army, the battle of Kursk confronted it with disaster.

Finally, this year marked a turning-point because the successful Red Army offensive radically aggravated the economic and military political situation of fascist Germany, and confronted her with a profound crisis.

The Germans counted on carrying out in the summer of this year a successful offensive on the Soviet-German front, to redeem their losses and to bolster up their shaken prestige in Europe. But the Red Army upset the Germans' calculations, repulsed their offensive, itself launched an offensive and proceeded to drive the Germans westwards, thereby shattering the prestige of German arms.

The Germans counted on prolonging the war, started building defence lines and "walls," and proclaimed for all to hear that their new positions were impregnable. But here again the Red Army upset the calculations of the Germans, broke through their defence lines and "walls," and continued successfully to advance, giving them no time to drag out the war.

The Germans counted on rectifying the situation at the front by means of "total" mobilization. But here, too, events upset the Germans' calculations. The summer campaign has already eaten up two-thirds of the "totally" mobilized. However, it does not look as if this circumstance has brought about any improvement in the position of the German-fascist army. It may prove necessary to proclaim yet another "total" mobilization, and there is no reason why a repetition of such a measure should not result in the "total" collapse of a certain state. (*Loud applause.*)

The Germans counted on retaining a firm hold on the Ukraine in order to avail themselves of Ukrainian agricultural produce for their army and population, and of Donbas coal for the factories and railways serving the German army. But here, too, they miscalculated. As a result of the successful Red Army offensive the Germans lost not only the Donbas coal, but also the richest grain-producing regions of the Ukraine, and there is no reason to suppose that they will not also lose the rest of the Ukraine in the very near future. (*Loud applause.*)

Naturally, all these miscalculations could not but worsen, and in

fact did radically worsen, the economic and military-political position of fascist Germany.

Fascist Germany is passing through a profound crisis. She is facing disaster.

II. NATION-WIDE ASSISTANCE TO THE FRONT

The successes of the Red Army would have been impossible without the support of the people, without the self-sacrificing work of the Soviet people in the factories and workshops, collieries and mines, transport and agriculture. In the hard conditions of war the Soviet people have proved able to ensure for their Army everything at all necessary and have incessantly perfected its fighting equipment. Never during the whole course of the war has the enemy been able to surpass our Army in quality of armaments. At the same time our industry has given the front ever-increasing quantities of war equipment.

The past year marked a turning-point not only in the trend of military operations but also in the work of our home front. We were no longer confronted with such tasks as the evacuation of enterprises to the east and the switching of industry to production of armaments. The Soviet State now has an efficient and rapidly expanding war economy. Thus all the efforts of the people could be concentrated on increase of production and further improvement of armaments, particularly tanks, planes, guns and self-propelled artillery. Here we achieved big successes. The Red Army, supported by the entire people, has received uninterrupted supplies of fighting equipment, rained millions of bombs, mines and shells upon the enemy and brought thousands of tanks and planes into battle. One has every ground for saying that the self-sacrificing labour of the Soviet people in the rear will go down in history side by side with the Red Army's heroic struggle and the unparalleled feat of the people in defence of their Motherland. (*Prolonged applause.*)

Workers of the Soviet Union, who in the years of peaceful construction built up our highly developed, powerful socialist industry, have during the Patriotic War been working with intense zeal and energy to help the front, displaying true labour heroism.

Everyone knows that in the war against the U.S.S.R. the Hitlerites had at their disposal not only the highly developed industry of Germany, but also the rather powerful industries of the vassal and occupied countries. Yet the Hitlerites have failed to maintain the quantitative superiority in military equipment which they had at the beginning of

the war against the Soviet Union. If the former superiority of the enemy as regards number of tanks, planes, mortars and automatic rifles has now been liquidated, if our army to-day experiences no serious shortage of arms, ammunition and equipment, the credit for this is due, in the first place, to our working class. (*Loud and prolonged applause.*)

The peasants of the Soviet Union, who in the years of peaceful construction on the basis of the collective farm system transformed a backward agriculture into an advanced agriculture, have displayed during the Patriotic War a high degree of awareness of the common national interest unparalleled in the history of the country-side. By self-sacrificing labour to help the front, they have shown that the Soviet peasantry considers the present war against the Germans to be its own cause, a war for its own life and liberty.

It is well known that as a result of invasion by the fascist hordes, our country was temporarily deprived of the important agricultural districts of the Ukraine, the Don and the Kuban. And yet our collective and State farms supplied the army and the country with food without any serious interruptions. Of course, without the collective farm system, without the self-sacrificing labour of the men and women collective farmers, we could not have coped with this most difficult task. If in the third year of the war our army is not experiencing a shortage of food, and if the population is supplied with food and industry with raw materials, this is evidence of the strength and vitality of the collective farm system, of the patriotism of the collective farm peasantry. (*Prolonged applause.*)

A great part in helping the front has been played by our transport, primarily by railway transport, and also by river, sea and motor transport. As is known, transport is the vital means of connecting the rear and the front. One may produce large quantities of arms and ammunition, but if transport does not deliver them to the front on time they may remain useless freight as far as the front is concerned. It must be said that transport plays a decisive part in the timely delivery of arms and ammunition, food, clothing and so on to the front. If in spite of war-time difficulties and a shortage of fuel, we have been able to supply the front with everything necessary, the credit goes in the first place to our transport workers and office employees. (*Prolonged applause.*)

Nor does our intelligentsia lag behind the working class and peasantry in their aid to the front. The Soviet intelligentsia is working with devotion for the defence of our country, continually improving the Red Army's armaments and the technology and organization of

production. It helps the workers and collective farmers to improve industry and agriculture, advances Soviet science and culture in the conditions of war.

This is to the honour of our intelligentsia. (*Prolonged applause.*)

All the peoples of the Soviet Union have risen as one in defence of their Motherland, rightly regarding the present Patriotic War as the common cause of all working people irrespective of nationality or religion. By now the Hitlerite politicians themselves see how hopelessly stupid were their calculations on discord and conflict among the peoples of the Soviet Union. The friendship of the peoples of our country has withstood all the hardship and trials of the war and has become tempered still further in the common struggle of all Soviet people against the fascist invaders.

Herein lies the source of the strength of the Soviet Union. (*Loud and prolonged applause.*)

As in the years of peaceful construction, so in the days of war, the leading and guiding force of the Soviet people has been the Party of Lenin, the Party of the Bolsheviks. No other Party has ever enjoyed, or enjoys, such prestige among the masses of the people as our Bolshevik Party. And this is natural. Under the leadership of the Bolshevik Party, the workers, peasants and intelligentsia of our country have won their freedom and built a Socialist society. In the Patriotic War the Party has stood before us as the inspirer and organizer of the nation-wide struggle against the fascist invaders. The organizational work of the Party has united and directed all the efforts of the Soviet people towards the common goal, subordinating all our forces and means to the cause of defeating the enemy. During the war, the Party has increased its kinship with the people, has established still closer links with the wide masses of the working people.

Herein lies the source of the strength of our state. (*Loud and prolonged applause.*)

The present war has forcefully confirmed the well-known statement of Lenin to the effect that war is an all-round test of a nation's material and spiritual forces. The history of war teaches that only those states withstood this test which proved stronger than their adversaries as regards the development and organization of their economy, as regards the experience, skill and fighting spirit of their troops, as regards the fortitude and unity of the people throughout the whole course of the war. Ours is just such a State.

The Soviet State was never so stable and unshakable as now, in the third year of the Patriotic War. The lessons of the war show that the Soviet system is not only the best form of organizing the

economic and cultural development of the country in the years of peaceful construction, but also the best form of mobilizing all the forces of the people for resistance to the enemy in war time. Soviet power, established 26 years ago, has transformed our country within a short historical period into an impregnable fortress. The Red Army has the most stable and reliable rear of all the armies in the world.

Herein lies the source of the strength of the Soviet Union. (*Loud and prolonged applause.*)

There is no doubt that the Soviet State will emerge from the war even stronger and even more consolidated. The German invaders are ruining and devastating our land in an endeavour to undermine the power of our State. To an even greater extent than before, the offensive of the Red Army has exposed the barbarous, bandit character of the Hitlerite army. In districts seized by them, the Germans have exterminated hundreds of thousands of our peaceful civilians. Like the mediæval barbarians of Attila's hordes, the German fiends trample down our fields, burn down our towns and villages, demolish our industrial enterprises and cultural institutions. The Germans' crimes are evidence of the weakness of the fascist invaders, for only usurpers who themselves do not believe in their victory would behave in this way. And the more hopeless the position of the Hitlerites becomes, the more viciously do they rage in their atrocities and plunder. Our people will not forgive the German fiends for these crimes. We shall make the German criminals answer for all their misdeeds. (*Loud and prolonged applause.*)

In the areas where the fascist cut-throats have temporarily held sway, we shall have to restore demolished towns and villages, industry, transport, agricultural and cultural institutions, and create normal living conditions for the Soviet people delivered from fascist slavery. Work is already in full swing for the restoration of economy and culture in areas liberated from the enemy. But this is only the beginning. We must completely eliminate the consequences of the rule of the Germans in areas liberated from German occupation. This is a great, national task. We can and must cope with this difficult task within a short time.

III. CONSOLIDATION OF THE ANTI-HITLERITE COALITION AND DISINTEGRATION OF THE FASCIST BLOC

The past year has marked a turning-point not only in the Patriotic War of the Soviet Union, but also in the whole world war.

The changes which have taken place during this year in the military and international situation have been to the advantage of the U.S.S.R. and the Allied countries friendly to it and detrimental to Germany and her accomplices in the plundering of Europe.

The victories of the Red Army have had results and consequences far beyond the limits of the Soviet-German front. They have changed the whole further course of the world war and acquired great international significance. The victory of the Allied countries over the common enemy has come nearer, while relations among the Allies and the fighting partnership of their armies, far from weakening, have, contrary to the expectations of the enemy, become stronger and more consolidated. The historic decisions of the Moscow Conference of representatives of the Soviet Union, Great Britain and the United States of America, published recently in the Press, are eloquent testimony of this. Now the united countries are filled with determination to strike joint blows against the enemy which will result in final victory over him.

This year the Red Army's blows at the German-fascist troops were supported by the military operations of our Allies in North Africa, in the Mediterranean Basin and in Southern Italy. At the same time the Allies subjected and are still subjecting important industrial centres of Germany to heavy air bombing and thus considerably weakening the enemy's military power. If we add to all this the fact that the Allies are regularly supplying us with various armaments and raw materials, it can be said without exaggeration that, by doing all this, they have considerably facilitated the successes of our summer campaign. Of course, the present operations of the Allied armies in south Europe cannot yet be regarded as a second front. But still it is something in the nature of a second front. Obviously, the opening of a real second front in Europe, which is not far off, would considerably hasten victory over Hitlerite Germany and still further consolidate the comradeship-in-arms of the Allied countries.

Thus, the events of the past year show that the anti-Hitlerite coalition is a firm union of the peoples and rests on a solid foundation.

By now it is obvious to everybody that, by unleashing the present war, the Hitlerite clique has led Germany and her satellites into a hopeless impasse. The defeats of the fascist troops on the Soviet-German front and the blows of our Allies at the Italo-German troops have shaken the whole edifice of the fascist bloc, and it is now crumbling before our very eyes. Italy has irrevocably dropped out of the Hitlerite coalition. Mussolini can change nothing, for he is in actual fact a prisoner of the Germans. Next comes the turn of the other participants

of the coalition. Finland, Hungary, Rumania, and the other vassals of Hitler, discouraged by Germany's military defeats, have now finally lost faith that the outcome of the war will be favourable to them and are anxious to find a way out of the quagmire into which Hitler has dragged them. Now that the time has come to answer for their plundering, Hitler-Germany's accomplices in plunder, but recently so obedient to their master, are now in search of a favourable moment to creep away unnoticed from the robber band. (*Laughter.*)

When they entered the war, the partners in the Hitlerite bloc counted on a rapid victory. Already beforehand they had decided on who would receive what—who would get the puddings and pies, who would get the bruises and black eyes. Of course they intended the bruises and black eyes for their adversaries and the puddings and pies for themselves. But now it is clear that Germany and her flunkies will get no puddings and pies, but will have to share the bruises and black eyes. (*Laughter and applause.*)

Foreseeing this unattractive prospect, Hitler's accomplices are now racking their brains to find a way out of the war with as few bruises and black eyes as possible. (*Laughter.*)

Italy's example shows Hitler's vassals that the longer they postpone their inevitable break with the Germans and allow them to lord it in their states, the greater the devastation in store for their countries, the greater the sufferings their peoples will have to endure. Italy's example also shows that Hitlerite Germany has not the least intention of defending her vassal countries, but intends to convert them into a scene of devastating war, if only she can stave off the hour of her own defeat.

The cause of German fascism is lost, and the sanguinary "New Order" it has established is approaching collapse. In the occupied countries of Europe an outburst of the people's wrath against the fascist enslavers is developing. Germany's former prestige in the countries of her allies and in the neutral countries is lost beyond recovery; and her economic and political ties with neutral states have been undermined.

The time is long past when the Hitlerite clique made a great noise about the Germans winning world domination. Now as is known, the Germans have other matters than world domination to worry about. They have to think about keeping body and soul together. (*Laughter and applause.*)

Thus, the course of the war has shown that the alliance of the fascist states did not and does not rest on a reliable foundation. The Hitlerite coalition was formed on the basis of the predatory,

rapacious ambitions of its members. As long as the Hitlerites were gaining military successes, the fascist coalition appeared to be a stable association. But the very first defeats of the fascist troops resulted in the actual disintegration of the bandit bloc.

Hitlerite Germany and her vassals stand on the verge of catastrophe.

The victory of the Allied countries over Hitlerite Germany will put on the agenda the important questions of organizing and rebuilding the state, economic and cultural life of the European peoples. The policy of our Government on these questions remains constant. Together with our Allies, we must:

(1) Liberate the peoples of Europe from the fascist invaders and help to rebuild their national States, dismembered by the fascist enslavers—the peoples of France, Belgium, Yugoslavia, Czechoslovakia, Poland, Greece and other States now under the German yoke, must once more become free and independent;

(2) grant the liberated peoples of Europe the full right and freedom to determine their own form of government;

(3) adopt measures to ensure that all the fascist criminals responsible for the present war and the sufferings of the people, should bear stern punishment and retribution for all the crimes perpetrated by them no matter in what country they may hide;

(4) establish such an order in Europe as will completely exclude the possibility of fresh aggression on the part of Germany;

(5) establish lasting economic, political and cultural collaboration among the peoples of Europe, based on mutual confidence and mutual assistance for the purpose of restoring economic and cultural life destroyed by the Germans.

* * * * *

The Red Army and the Soviet people during the past year have achieved great successes in the struggle against the German invaders. We have achieved a radical turning-point in the war in favour of our country, and the war is now proceeding to its final climax. But it is not the habit of Soviet people to rest satisfied with their achievements, to exult over their successes. Victory may elude us if complacency appears in our ranks. Victory cannot be won without struggle and effort. It is achieved in fighting. Victory is now near, but to win it there must be a fresh strenuous effort, self-sacrificing work throughout the rear and skilful and resolute actions of the Red Army at the front. It would be a crime against the Motherland, against the Soviet people

who have fallen temporarily under the fascist yoke, against the peoples of Europe, languishing under German oppression, if we failed to use every opportunity of hastening the enemy's defeat. The enemy must not be allowed any respite. That is why we must exert all our strength to finish off the enemy.

The Soviet people and the Red Army clearly see the difficulties of the forthcoming struggle. But to-day it is already clear that the day of our victory is approaching. The war has entered the stage when it is a question of completely expelling the invaders from Soviet soil and liquidating the fascist "New Order in Europe." The time is not far off when we shall completely expel the enemy from the Ukraine and Byelorussia, from the Leningrad and Kalinin Regions, and liberate from the German invaders the peoples of the Crimea, Lithuania, Latvia, Esthonia, Moldavia and the Karelo-Finnish Republic.

Comrades!

For the victory of the Anglo-Soviet-American fighting alliance!
(*Applause.*)

For the liberation of the peoples of Europe from the fascist yoke!
(*Applause.*)

For the complete expulsion of the German fiends from our soil!
(*Applause.*)

Long live our Red Army! (*Applause.*)

Long live our navy! (*Applause.*)

Long live our gallant men and women guerillas! (*Applause.*)

Long live our great Motherland! (*Applause.*)

Death to the German invaders! (*Loud and prolonged applause. All stand.*)

ORDER OF THE DAY, No. 309, OF NOVEMBER 7, 1943

COMRADES, men of the Red Army and Navy, sergeants, officers and generals, men and women guerillas, working people of the Soviet Union!

On behalf of the Soviet Government and our Bolshevik Party, I greet and congratulate you on the occasion of the 26th anniversary of the great October Socialist Revolution.

We are celebrating the 26th anniversary of the great October Socialist Revolution at a time of glorious victories of the Red Army over the enemies of our country.

For more than two years our people have been conducting a war of liberation against the German-fascist enslavers. A year ago

our Motherland was passing through grave days. At that time the enemy had seized a large part of our territory. Millions of Soviet people were languishing in German bondage. The enemy hordes were pressing on towards the Volga with the object of outflanking Moscow from the east, and were besetting the approaches to Trans-Caucasia. But the Red Army with its very bodies barred the road against the enemy. Our troops halted the foreign bandit hordes and, after routing them at Stalingrad, began vigorously to drive them to the west. Since then the Red Army has invariably held the initiative in its hands in all military operations.

In the winter of 1942-43 our gallant troops smashed the picked armies of the Germans, Italians, Rumanians and Hungarians, killed or took prisoner over 1,000,000 enemy officers and men and liberated a vast territory covering an area of about 500,000 square kilometres (195,300 sq. miles).

In the summer of 1943 the Red Army dealt the enemy another crushing blow. In the course of a few days our troops liquidated the German summer offensive and so buried Hitler's plan of routing the main forces of the Red Army and outflanking Moscow from the directions of Orel and Kursk. Moreover, the Red Army itself went over to a decisive offensive, broke through powerful enemy defence zones and, in the space of three months, drove the enemy back to the west, at some points for a distance of 400 to 450 kilometres (250-280 miles). During the summer campaign our troops drove out the enemy from the whole of the Ukraine east of the Dnieper, from the Donets Basin, from the Taman, Orel and Smolensk Regions, entered the Ukraine west of the Dnieper and captured Kiev, capital of the Soviet Ukraine, entered Byelorussia, captured the approaches to the Crimea and liberated over 160 towns and over 38,000 populated places.

During the past year the Red Army recovered from the Germans almost two-thirds of our territory previously seized by the Germans and delivered tens of millions of Soviet people from the German yoke.

During the past year the Germans lost on the Soviet-German front over 4,000,000 officers and men, including at least 1,800,000 killed.

Picked divisions of the German-fascist army met their inglorious end on the Soviet-German front and, together with them, the Hitlerite plans to conquer the world and enslave its peoples have been buried for all time.

True, the German army is still fighting stubbornly, clinging to

every position, but the reverses that the Germans have sustained since the defeat of their troops at Stalingrad have undermined the fighting spirit of the German army. To-day the Germans fear encirclement like the plague, and when threatened by the outflanking manœuvres of our troops they flee, abandoning their equipment and wounded on the battlefield.

In the offensive operations of the past year our troops have gained experience in waging modern war. Our officers and generals skilfully lead their troops, successfully master the art of military leadership. The Red Army has become the most powerful and steeled of modern armies.

The Red Army's victories have still further consolidated the international position of the Soviet Union. Our army's offensive has been supported by the operations of the Allied forces in North Africa, on the Italian islands and in the south of Italy. The air forces of our Allies have subjected the industrial centres of Germany to heavy air bombing attacks. There is no doubt that the Red Army's blows from the east against the German troops, supported by blows dealt from the west by the main forces of the Allies, will lead to the crushing of the military might of Hitlerite Germany and the complete victory of the Anti-Hitlerite coalition.

The Red Army could not have gained this year's great victories without the aid rendered to the front by the whole people. The Soviet people are devoting all their strength to support their army. An endless stream of arms, ammunition, provisions and equipment is flowing to the front. The Urals and Kuznets Basin, the Moscow and Volga areas, Leningrad and Baku, Kazakhstan and Uzbekistan, Georgia and Armenia—all our Republics and Regions have become a mighty arsenal for the Red Army. The Soviet people are successfully restoring the industrial and agricultural areas recaptured from the enemy. Factories, mills, mines and railways are being restarted, State and collective farms are being restored and the resources of the liberated areas are being enlisted to serve the front.

Our achievements are indeed great, but it would be naïve to rest on the successes achieved. To-day when the Red Army is thrashing the enemy beyond the Dnieper and is pressing forward to the western borders of our country, it would be particularly dangerous to lapse into self-satisfaction or complacency and under-estimate the grave difficulties of the battles that lie ahead. The enemy will now fight more viciously than ever for each scrap of territory that he has seized, because every step forward by our army brings nearer the Germans' hour of reckoning for the crimes they have perpetrated on our soil.

The struggle for final victory over the German-fascist invaders demands still greater exertions and fresh deeds of valour on the part of our army and people.

Comrades, men of the Red Army and Red Navy, sergeants, officers and generals, men and women guerillas!

In titanic battles against the accursed enemy you have won great victories and covered the banners of the Red Army and Navy with undying glory. The Red Army and Navy now enjoy every possibility for completely clearing the German invaders from our Soviet soil in the near future.

In the name of the victory of our Motherland over the German-fascist monsters, I order:

(1) All rank and file Red Army men and sergeants: tirelessly to improve your fighting skill, strictly observe the requirements of the army regulations and the instructions and orders of your commanders and generals. Everywhere and at all times observe exemplary order, strict discipline and a high degree of organization.

(2) Officers and generals of all types of arms: improve your skill in leading troops on the battlefield and in co-ordinating all types of arms, firmly consolidate the successes of the offensive, vigorously pursue the enemy troops, bring up your rear establishments more rapidly, be bolder in gathering your reserves for fresh blows at the enemy.

(3) The whole of the Red Army: boldly and resolutely smash the enemy defences, pursue the enemy day and night, do not give him any chance to entrench himself on intermediate lines, cut the enemy's communications by skilful and daring manœuvres, surround and split up his forces, wipe out or capture his man-power and material.

(4) Men and women guerillas: rouse the Soviet people to armed struggle against the Germans, increase by every means your aid to the Red Army in its advance, smash the enemy rear establishments and headquarters, save Soviet people from being killed or driven off to slave labour in Germany, mercilessly exterminate the German-fascist scoundrels.

Red Army men, men and women guerillas! Forward to the complete defeat of the German-fascist invaders!

Long live the 26th anniversary of the great October Socialist Revolution!

Long live our victorious Red Army!

Long live our victorious Navy!

Long live our gallant men and women guerillas!

Long live our great Motherland!
Vengeance and death to the German-fascist invaders!

J. STALIN,

Supreme Commander-in-Chief, Marshal of the Soviet Union.
Moscow.

ORDER OF THE DAY, No. 16, OF FEBRUARY 23, 1944

COMRADES, Red Army men and Red Navy men, sergeants, officers and generals, men and women guerillas!

The peoples of our country meet the twenty-sixth anniversary of the Red Army in the midst of historical victories of the Soviet troops over the German-fascist troops.

For over a year the Red Army has been conducting a victorious offensive, battering the armies of the Hitlerite invaders and sweeping them off Soviet soil. During this period the Red Army successfully carried out the winter campaign of 1942-43, won the summer battles of 1943 and developed the victorious winter offensive of 1943-44. In these campaigns, without parallel in the history of wars, the Red Army made a fighting advance to the west of up to 1,700 kilometres (1,060 miles) at some points, and cleared the enemy from nearly three-quarters of the Soviet territory he had seized.

In the course of the present winter campaign the Red Army has liquidated the powerful German defences along the whole course of the Dnieper from Zhlobin to Kherson, and thereby upset the German calculations on the successful conduct of a protracted defensive war on the Soviet-German front.

In three months of the winter campaign our gallant troops have won most important victories in the Ukraine west of the Dnieper, completed the liberation of the Kiev, Dniepropetrovsk and Zaporozhye regions, liberated the entire Zhitomir region and almost the whole of the Rovno and Kirovograd regions, as well as a number of districts of the Vinnitsa, Nikolayev, Kamenetz Podolsk and Volynia regions. By resolute actions the Red Army liquidated the attempts of the German counter-offensive in the Zhitomir, Krivoi Rog and Uman areas. The Soviet troops arranged a new Stalingrad for the Germans west of the Dnieper by surrounding and wiping out ten German divisions and one brigade in the Korsun-Shevchenkovsky area.

A great victory has been won by the Soviet troops at Leningrad. Our troops broke up the enemy's powerful system of permanent, deeply echeloned fortifications, routed a strong grouping of German

troops, and completely freed Leningrad from the enemy's blockade and barbarous shellings. The Soviet warriors are completing the clearing of the fascist fiends from the Leningrad and Kalinin regions, and have set foot on the soil of Soviet Esthonia.

The mass expulsion of the occupationists from Soviet Byelorussia is in progress. The Gornel and Polesseye regions have been almost completely liberated, as well as a number of districts of the Mogilev and Vitebsk regions.

In the unfavourable conditions of the present winter, having overcome the enemy's powerful defensive zones, our troops in three months of the winter campaign have cleared the invaders from about 200,000 square kilometres (78,125 square miles) of Soviet soil. The Red Army has recaptured from the enemy over 13,000 inhabited localities, including 82 towns and 320 railway stations. Millions more Soviet citizens have been delivered from fascist captivity. Important agricultural and industrial areas with very rich resources of iron ore and manganese have been restored to our Motherland. The Germans have lost these economically important areas, to which they clung so desperately.

By now it must be obvious to everyone that Hitlerite Germany is irresistibly heading for catastrophe. True, conditions for the prosecution of war are more favourable for Germany in the present war than during the last World War, when from the very beginning to the end of the war she waged a struggle on two fronts. However, the great drawback for Germany is the fact that in this war the Soviet Union has proved to be much stronger than the old Tsarist Russia was in the last war. In the first World War six Great Powers—France, Russia, Britain, U.S.A., Japan and Italy—fought on two fronts against the German bloc. In the present war Italy and Japan went over to Germany's side, Finland joined the fascist bloc, Rumania, who in the last war fought against Germany, changed camps. Moreover, Germany's main forces are still operating on one front, against the Soviet Union. History shows that Germany has always won wars when she fought on one front, but that she lost the war when she was forced to fight on two fronts. In the present war Germany, though fighting with her main forces on one front against the U.S.S.R., has nevertheless not only proved unable to score victory, but has been placed on the verge of disaster by the powerful blows of the armed forces of the Soviet Union. If the Soviet Union, fighting single-handed, has not only withstood the onslaught of the German war machine, but also inflicted decisive defeats on the German-fascist troops, all the more hopeless will be the situation of Hitlerite Germany

when the main forces of our Allies join action, and a powerful and growing offensive of the armies of all the Allied States develops against Hitlerite Germany.

The German-fascist brigands are now tossing about in search of ways to save themselves from disaster. Again they have jumped at "total" mobilization in the rear, although Germany's man-power resources are depleted. The fascist ringleaders make desperate attempts to provoke discord in the camp of the anti-Hitler coalition and thereby to drag out the war. Hitlerite diplomats rush from one neutral country to another, striving to establish contacts with pro-Hitler elements, hinting at the possibility of a separate peace now with our State, now with our Allies. All these subterfuges of the Hitlerites are doomed to failure, as the anti-Hitler coalition is founded on the vital interests of the Allies who have set themselves the task of smashing Hitlerite Germany and her accomplices in Europe. It is this very community of basic interests that leads to the consolidation of the fighting alliance of the U.S.S.R., Britain and the U.S.A., in the progress of the war.

The hour of the final reckoning for all the crimes committed by the Hitlerites on Soviet soil and in the occupied countries of Europe is drawing near.

The victorious offensive of the Red Army became possible thanks to the new labour exploits of the Soviet people in all branches of our national economy. The working people of the Soviet Union buttressed the summer victories of the Red Army on the fronts with new production victories in the rear.

Our industrial workers fulfil before the scheduled time and exceed the programmes fixed by the State, put new factories, blast furnaces and power stations into commission. In the liberated districts they restore at an unparalleled speed the industry demolished by the invaders. The heroic efforts of the working class further strengthen the military-material base of the Red Army, and so hasten the hour of our final victory.

The Soviet peasantry supplies the State with food for the Army and for the cities, with raw materials for industry. It renders self-denying support to the Red Army.

The Soviet intelligentsia render direct and leading aid to the workers and peasants in developing production and in meeting the Red Army's requirements.

The working people of the liberated districts every day extend their aid to the Red Army—their liberator—and add the output of

their factories and agriculture which they are restoring to the general stream of front-bound supplies.

There is no doubt that in the future, too, by its heroic labour and by the exertion of all its efforts, the Soviet people will ensure the uninterrupted growth of the productive forces of the country for the earliest and final rout of the German-fascist invaders.

The creation of new army formations in the Union Republics, which has been prepared by the fighting companionship of the peoples of the U.S.S.R. in the patriotic war and by the entire history of our State, will further strengthen the Red Army and will add new fighting forces to its ranks.

Comrades, Red Army men, Red Navy men, sergeants, officers and generals! Comrades, men and women guerillas!

In the great war of liberation for the freedom and independence of our Motherland, you have displayed miracles of heroism. The Red Army has achieved a decisive turn in the course of the war in our favour, and now marches confidently towards final victory over the enemy. The enemy suffers one defeat after another. However, he has not yet been smashed. Seeing the approaching doom and the inevitability of retribution for all the monstrous crimes they have committed on our soil, the Hitlerite bandits resist with the fury of doomed men. They hurl into battle their last forces and reserves, cling to every metre of Soviet ground, to every advantageous line.

For this very reason, no matter how great our successes, we must, just as before, soberly appraise the enemy's strength, be vigilant, not permit self-conceit, complacency or heedlessness in our ranks. As yet, there has been no instance in the history of war of the enemy jumping into the abyss of his own accord. To win the war one must lead the enemy to the abyss and push him into it. Only shattering blows steadily growing in weight can crush the resistance of the enemy and bring us to final victory. With this end in view, it is necessary to continue to perfect the battle training of our fighters and the military skill of the commanders of our Army. The duty of the Red Army is to raise its military art daily to a higher level, constantly and carefully to study the enemy's tactics, skilfully and opportunely to see through his cunning ruses, to counter enemy tactics with our more perfect tactics. It is necessary that the battle experience and the achievements of the foremost Guards units and formations of the Red Army should become the common property of all our troops, that the whole Red Army, all its officers and men, learn to batter the enemy according to all the rules of modern military science.

Comrades, Red Army men and Red Navy men, sergeants, officers and generals, men and women guerillas!

Greeting and congratulating you on the 26th Anniversary of the Red Army, I order:

(1) All rank and file and sergeants—infantrymen, mortar gunners, artillerymen, airmen, tankmen, sappers, signallers and cavalrymen—to continue untiringly to perfect your battle skill, to make full use of our splendid military equipment, to batter the enemy as our glorious Guardsmen batter him, to carry out with precision the orders of the commanders, to strengthen discipline and order to enhance organization.

(2) Officers and generals of all arms—to perfect the art of leading troops, tactics of manœuvre, the co-ordination of all arms in the course of battle, to apply more boldly and widely the experience of the leading Guards units and formations in combat practice, to raise to a higher level the efficiency of the work of headquarters and of army rear establishments, to improve and develop our reconnaissance to the utmost.

(3) The entire Red Army—with skilful combination of fire and manœuvre, to breach the enemy defenses in their full depth, to give the enemy no respite, opportunely to liquidate enemy attempts to stem our offensive by counter-attacks, skilfully to organize the pursuit of the enemy, to prevent him from evacuating his war material, to envelop the flanks of the enemy troops by bold manœuvre, to break into the enemy rear, surround enemy troops, split them up and wipe them out if they refuse to lay down their arms.

(4) Men and women guerillas—to give increased aid to the Red Army, to raid enemy headquarters and garrisons, to harass the enemy rear, to destroy his communications and liaison, to deprive him of the opportunity of bringing up reserves.

(5) To mark the great victories won by the armed forces of the Soviet State during the course of the past year, to-day, February 23, on the occasion of the 26th Anniversary of the Red Army, at 18.00 o'clock, the gallant troops of the Red Army will be saluted with 20 artillery salvoes in Moscow, Leningrad, Kiev, Dniepropetrovsk, Gomel, Rostov.

Glory to our victorious Red Army!

Glory to Soviet arms!

Glory to our valiant men and women guerillas!

Long live our great Soviet Motherland!

Long live our All-Union Communist Party, the inspirer and organizer of the great victories of the Red Army!

Death to the German invaders!

J. STALIN,
Supreme Commander-in-Chief, Marshal of the Soviet Union.
Moscow.

ORDER OF THE DAY, No. 70, OF MAY 1, 1944

COMRADES, Red Army men and Red Navy men, sergeants, officers and generals, men and women guerillas! Working people of the Soviet Union! Brothers and sisters who have temporarily fallen under the yoke of the German oppressors, and who have been forcibly driven to fascist slave labour in Germany!

On behalf of the Soviet Government and of our Bolshevik Party, I greet and congratulate you upon May Day!

The peoples of our country meet the day of May 1, in the midst of outstanding successes of the Red Army.

Since the defeat of the German divisions at Stalingrad, the Red Army has been conducting a practically incessant offensive. During this time the Red Army has made a fighting advance from the Volga to the Sereth, from the foothills of the Caucasus to the Carpathians, exterminating the enemy vermin and sweeping it out of the Soviet land.

In the course of the winter campaign of 1943-44, the Red Army has won the historic battle for the Dnieper and for the territories of the Ukraine west of the Dnieper, crushed the powerful German fortified defences at Leningrad and in the Crimea, by skilful and vigorous actions overwhelmed the German defence on the water-barriers of the Southern Bug, Dniester, Pruth, Sereth. Nearly the entire Ukraine, Moldavia, the Crimea, the Leningrad and Kalinin Regions, and a considerable part of Byelorussia have been cleared of the German invaders. The metal industry of the south, the ore of Krivoi Rog, Kerch and Nikopol, the fertile lands between the Dnieper and the Pruth have been restored to the Motherland. Tens of millions of Soviet people have been delivered from fascist slavery.

Acting in the great cause of the liberation of their native land from the fascist invaders, the Red Army has emerged on our State frontiers with Rumania and Czechoslovakia and now continues battering the enemy troops on the territory of Rumania.

The successes of the Red Army became possible thanks to the correct strategy and tactics of the Soviet Command, thanks to the high morale and offensive ardour of our men and commanders, thanks to our troops being well supplied with first-rate Soviet war equipment, thanks to the improved skill and training of our artillerymen, mortar gunners, tankmen, airmen, signalmen, sappers, infantrymen, cavalrymen and scouts.

A considerable contribution to these successes has been made by our great Allies, the United States of America and Great Britain, which hold a front in Italy against the Germans and divert a considerable part of the German troops from us, supply us with very valuable strategical raw materials and armaments, subject military objectives in Germany to systematic bombing and thus undermine the latter's military might.

The successes of the Red Army could, however, prove unstable and could be reduced to naught after the very first serious counter-blow from the enemy, were not the Red Army backed from the rear by our entire Soviet people, by our entire country. In the battles for the Motherland the Red Army has displayed unexampled heroism. But the Soviet people has not remained in debt to the Red Army. Under difficult war-time conditions the Soviet people has attained decisive successes in mass production of armaments, ammunition, clothing and provisions, and in their timely delivery to the fronts of the Red Army. During the past year the power of Soviet industry has substantially risen. Hundreds of new factories, mines, dozens of power-stations, railway lines and bridges have been commissioned. Fresh millions of Soviet people have taken their places at machine-tools, mastered the most complex trades, become experts in their jobs. Our collective farms and State farms have stood the trials of war with credit. Under difficult war-time conditions the Soviet peasants work in the fields without folding their hands, supplying our army and population with food and our industry with raw materials. And our intellectuals have enriched Soviet science and technology, culture and art with new outstanding achievements and discoveries. Invaluable services in the cause of defence of the Motherland have been rendered by Soviet women, who work self-sacrificingly in the interests of the front, courageously bear all war-time hardships and inspire to fighting exploits the soldiers of the Red Army—the liberators of our Motherland. The Patriotic War has shown that the Soviet people is capable of performing miracles and emerging victorious from the hardest trials. The workers, collective farmers, Soviet intellectuals, the whole Soviet people, are filled with determination to hasten the

defeat of the enemy, to restore completely the economy ruined by the fascists, to make our country still stronger and more prosperous.

Under the blows of the Red Army the bloc of Fascist States is cracking and falling to pieces. Fear and confusion now reign among Hitler's Rumanian, Hungarian, Finnish and Bulgarian "allies." These underlings of Hitler, whose countries have been occupied, or are being occupied, by the Germans, cannot now fail to see that Germany has lost the war. Rumania, Hungary, Finland and Bulgaria have only one possibility of escaping disaster: to break with the Germans and to withdraw from the war. However, it is difficult to expect that the present governments of these countries will prove capable of breaking with the Germans. It would seem that the peoples of these countries will have to take the cause of their liberation from the German yoke into their own hands. And the sooner the peoples of these countries realize to what an impasse the Hitlerites have brought them, the sooner will they withdraw all support from their German enslavers and underling Quislings in their own countries, the less will be the sacrifice and destruction caused to these countries by the war, and the more can they count on understanding from the democratic countries.

As a result of the successful offensive, the Red Army has emerged on our State frontiers on a stretch of over 400 kilometres (250 miles), and liberated more than three-quarters of occupied Soviet land from the German-fascist yoke. The aim now is to clear the whole of our land from the fascist invaders and to re-establish the State frontiers of the Soviet Union along the entire line from the Black Sea to the Barents Sea.

But our tasks cannot be confined to the expulsion of the enemy troops from our Motherland. The German troops now resemble a wounded beast which is compelled to crawl back to the frontiers of its lair—Germany—in order to heal its wounds. But a wounded beast which has retired to its lair does not cease to be a dangerous beast. To rid our country and the countries allied with us from the danger of enslavement, the wounded German beast must be pursued close on its heels and finished off in its own lair. And while pursuing the enemy we must deliver from German bondage our brother Poles, Czechoslovaks and other peoples of Western Europe allied with us which are under the heel of Hitlerite Germany.

Obviously this task is more difficult than the expulsion of German troops from the Soviet Union. It can be accomplished only as a result of the joint efforts of the Soviet Union, Great Britain and the United States of America, by joint blows from the east dealt by our troops and from the west dealt by the troops of our Allies. There can be

no doubt that only this combined blow can completely crush Hitlerite Germany.

Comrades, Red Army men and Red Navy men, sergeants, officers and generals, men and women guerillas! Working people of the Soviet Union! Brothers and sisters who have temporarily fallen under the yoke of the German oppressors and have been forcibly driven to fascist slave labour in Germany! I greet and congratulate you upon the festival of the First of May!

I order:

In honour of the historic victories of the Red Army on the front and to mark the great achievements of the workers, collective farmers and intellectuals of the Soviet Union in the rear, to-day, on the day of the world festival of the working people, at 20.00 hours (Moscow time) a salute of 20 artillery salvoes shall be fired in Moscow, Leningrad, Gomel, Kiev, Kharkov, Rostov, Tbilisi, Simferopol, Odessa.

Long live our Soviet Motherland!

Long live our Red Army and Navy!

Long live the great Soviet people!

Long live the friendship of the peoples of the Soviet Union!

Long live the Soviet men and women guerillas!

Glory eternal to the heroes who fell in the battles for the freedom and independence of our Motherland!

Death to the German invaders!

J. STALIN,

*Supreme Commander-in-Chief, Marshal of the Soviet Union
Moscow.*

ON THE ALLIED LANDING IN NORTHERN FRANCE

In answer to a Pravda correspondent, who asked how he evaluated the landing of Allied forces in northern France, Marshal Stalin gave the following reply:

In summing up the seven days' fighting by the Allied liberation forces in the invasion of northern France, it may be said without hesitation that the large-scale forcing of the Channel and the mass landing of Allied forces in the north of France have been completely successful. This is undoubtedly a brilliant success for our Allies.

One cannot but acknowledge that the history of war knows no other similar undertaking as regards breadth of design, vastness of scale and high skill of execution.

As is known, the "invincible" Napoleon, in his time, disgracefully failed in his plan of forcing the Channel and capturing the British Isles. The hysterical Hitler, who for two years boasted that he would effect the forcing of the Channel, did not even venture to make an attempt to carry out his threat. Only the British and American troops succeeded in carrying out with credit the vast plan of forcing the Channel and effecting the mass landing of troops.

History will record this deed as an achievement of the highest order.

June 13, 1944.

ORDER OF THE DAY, OF JUNE 29, 1944

Addressed to Army-General Meretskov

TROOPS of the Karelian Front, as a result of a deep encircling manœuvre and a landing on the western shore of Lake Onega, have liberated the town of Petrozavodsk (capital of the Karelo-Finnish Republic) from the German and Finnish invaders, and captured the town and railway station of Kondopoga, thus clearing the enemy from the whole length of the Kirov (Murmansk) railway.

In the fighting for the liberation of Petrozavodsk distinction was won by sailors commanded by Capt. of the First Rank Antonov, Capt. of the Second Rank Krotin, Lt.-Capt. Yelnikov, Capt. of the Third Rank Nikulin and Capt. Molchanov; troops commanded by Lt.-Gen. Yeremenko, Maj.-Gen. Sapenko, Col. Tsyganov, Col. Alexeyev and Lt.-Col. Pilshchikov; artillerymen commanded by Col. Glotov; sappers commanded by Col. Ivanchikhin; and signallers commanded by Capt. of the Second Rank Rozhdestvensky.

To commemorate the victory the units and formations which particularly distinguished themselves in the fighting for the liberation of Petrozavodsk will be recommended for conferment of the name "Petrozavodsk" and the award of Orders.

To-day, June 29, at 22.00 hours (Moscow time), the capital of the Motherland, Moscow, in the name of the Motherland, will salute with 24 artillery salvos from 324 guns our gallant troops of the Karelian Front which liberated the capital of the Karelo-Finnish S.S.R., Petrozavodsk.

For excellent military operations I express my thanks to all troops under your command which took part in the fighting for the liberation of Petrozavodsk.

Eternal glory to the heroes who fell in the struggle for the freedom and independence of our Motherland!

Death to the German and Finnish invaders!

J. STALIN,

*Supreme Commander-in-Chief, Marshal of the Soviet Union.
Moscow.*

ORDER OF THE DAY, OF JULY 3, 1944

Addressed to Army-General Chernyakhovsky and Marshal Rokossovsky

TROOPS of the 3rd Byelorussian Front, with the support of troops of the 1st Byelorussian Front, as the result of a deep outflanking manoeuvre, to-day, July 3, carried by assault the capital of Soviet Byelorussia, the town of Minsk—most important strategic centre of the German defences in the western direction.

In the fighting for the capture of Minsk distinction was won by tankmen commanded by Maj.-Gen. of Tank Troops Burdeiny, Lieut.-Gen. of Tank Troops Obukhov, Marshal of Tank Troops Rotmistrov, Lieut.-Gen. of Tank Troops Rodin, Maj.-Gen. of Tank Troops Netsvetailo, Maj.-Gen. of Tank Troops Vovchenko, Maj.-Gen. of Tank Troops Fominyk, Col. Lossik, Col. Bulygin, Col. Nesterov, Lieut.-Col. Antipin, Col. Gritsenko, Lieut.-Col. Yessipenko, Col. Pokhodzeyev, Col. Dolganov, Lieut.-Col. Mishchenko, Lieut.-Col. Molchanov, Lieut.-Col. Kurnossov, Col. Morozov, Col. Tsinchenko, Maj.-Gen. of Tank Troops Bakharov and Maj.-Gen. of Tank Troops Panov; Cavalry formations of Kuban Cossacks commanded by Lieut.-Gen. Pliyev, Maj.-Gen. Tutarinov, Maj.-Gen. Golovsk and Col. Poprikailo; Troops commanded by Lieut.-Gen. Glagolev, Col.-Gen. Galitsky, Col.-Gen. Batov, Lieut.-Gen. Luchinsky, Lieut.-Gen. Koshevoi, Maj.-Gen. Provalov, Maj.-Gen. Berestov, Maj.-Gen. Strizhenko, Col. Polevik, Col. Dudka, Col. Kovtunov and Col. Klimakhin; Artillerymen commanded by Lieut.-Gen. of Artillery Barsukov, Maj.-Gen. of Artillery Semin, Maj.-Gen. of Artillery Vladimirov, Maj.-Gen. of Artillery Sazonov, Col. Lubman, Col. Fedotov, Col. Khasin, Major Stepanov, Major Zotov, Lieut.-Col. Pytalev, Major Mikhailov, Lieut.-Col. Mayorov, Major Sereda and Col. Belyakov; Airmen commanded by Col.-Gen. of Aviation Khryukin, Col.-Gen. of Aviation Rudenko, Lieut.-Gen. of Aviation Ushakov, Lieut.-Col. of Aviation Beletsky, Lieut.-Gen. of Aviation Savitsky, Lieut.-Gen. of Aviation Loginov, Lieut.-Gen. of Aviation Georgiev,

Lieut.-Gen. of Aviation Tupikov, Lieut.-Gen. of Aviation Nestertsev, Maj.-Gen. of Aviation Volkov, Maj.-Gen. of Aviation Schetchikov, Maj.-Gen. of Aviation Buyansky, Maj.-Gen. of Aviation Zakharov, Maj.-Gen. of Aviation Andreyev, Col. Prutkov, Col. Zimin, Col. Vassilyev, Col. Skok, Lieut.-Col. Rodin, Col. Yurin, and Major Maximov; Sappers commanded by Lieut.-Gen. of Engineering Troops Baranov, Col. Pronevich, Col. Isupov and Col. Fedorov; Signallers commanded by Col. Belyshev, Col. Minin and Lieut.-Col. Geller.

To commemorate the victory the units and formations which particularly distinguished themselves in the fighting for the capture of Minsk will be recommended for conferment of the name "Minsk" and award of Orders.

To-day, July 3, at 22.00 hours (Moscow time) the capital of our Motherland, Moscow, in the name of the Motherland, will salute with 24 artillery salvoes from 324 guns our gallant troops which captured or assisted in the capture of Minsk.

For excellent military operations I express my thanks to all the troops under your command which took part in the fighting for the capture of Minsk.

Eternal glory to the heroes who fell in the struggle for the freedom and independence of our Motherland!

Death to the German invaders!

J. STALIN,

*Supreme Commander-in-Chief, Marshal of the Soviet Union.
Moscow.*

ORDER OF THE DAY, OF JULY 13, 1944

Addressed to Army-General Chernyakhovsky

TROOPS of the Third Byelorussian Front to-day, July 13, as a result of five days' fighting, liquidated the German garrison encircled in the town of Vilnius and liberated the capital of the Lithuanian Soviet Socialist Republic from the Fascist invaders.

In the fighting for the liberation of Vilnius distinction was won by troops under Lieut.-Gen. Krylov, Maj.-Gen. Kazartsev, Maj.-Gen. Perekrestov, Maj.-Gen. Poplavsky, Maj.-Gen. Gladyshev, Maj.-Gen. Laskin, Maj.-Gen. Kazaryan, Col. Donets, Maj.-Gen. Kalinin, Maj.-Gen. Alexeyenko, Col. Zhekov-Bogatyrev, Col. Babayan and Maj.-Gen. Gorodovikov; Artillerymen under Lieut.-Gen. of Artillery

Barsukov, Maj.-Gen. of Artillery Fedorov, Maj.-Gen. of Artillery Vladimirov, Col. Baryshev, Col. Rakhmanov, Col. Chernet, Maj.-Gen. of Artillery Yudichev, Maj.-Gen. of Artillery Rozhanovitch, Col. Gatsko, Col. Sedov, Lieut.-Col. Tikhomirov, Maj. Gazhva, Lieut.-Col. Litvinov, Lieut.-Col. Kozlov, Maj. Ryzhikov, Maj. Usov, Lieut.-Col. Nikitin, Lieut.-Col. Naumenko, Maj. Kolupayev, Maj. Sharkov and Col. Mezhinsky.; Tankmen under Lieut.-Gen. of Tank Troops Obukhov, Lieut.-Gen. of Tank Troops Rodin, Col. Rodionov, Col. Kremer, Col. Sokolov, Maj.-Gen. of Tank Troops Aslanov, Maj.-Gen. of Tank Troops Solovoy, Maj.-Gen. of Tank Troops Vovchenko, Maj.-Gen. of Tank Troops Fominykh, Col. Kritsenko, Lieut.-Col. Yesipenko, Col. Dolganov, Lieut.-Col. Molchanov, Lieut.-Col. Kurnosov, Lieut.-Col. Mishchenko, Lieut.-Col. Dyachuk, Col. Kruti, Lieut.-Col. Solter, Maj. Borshchenko and Lieut.-Col. Nemkovich; Airmen commanded by Col.-Gen. of Aviation Khryukin, Lieut.-Gen. of Aviation Beletsky, Lieut.-Gen. of Aviation Savitsky, Maj.-Gen. of Aviation Andreyev, Col. Savin, Lieut.-Col. Gorbatyuk, Lieut.-Col. Orlov, Lieut.-Col. Doroshenko, Lieut.-Col. Zaitsev, Col. Chuchev, Maj. Katkov, Col. Vasiliev, Col. Chumachenko and Col. Rodin; Sappers commanded by Lieut.-Gen. of Engineering Troops Baranov, Col. Molchanov, Maj. Rabinovich, Col. Yusupov and Col. Lukashenko; Signallers commanded by Maj.-Gen. of Signal Troops Burov, Col. Prikhoday, Lieut.-Col. Belov, Col. Minin, Col. Tkachenko, Maj. Tarasenko, Maj. Semenov and Maj. Sukhinin.

To commemorate the victory the units and formations which particularly distinguished themselves in the fighting for the liberation of the town of Vilnius will be recommended for conferment of the name "Vilnius" and for award of Orders.

To-day, July 13, at 23.30 hours (Moscow time) the capital of our Motherland, Moscow, in the name of the Motherland, will salute with 24 salvoes from 324 guns our gallant troops of the Third Byelorussian Front which captured the capital of Soviet Lithuania, Vilnius.

For excellent military operations I express my thanks to all troops under your command which took part in the fighting for the liberation of the town of Vilnius.

Eternal glory to the heroes who fell in the struggle for the freedom and independence of our Motherland!

Death to the German invaders!

J. STALIN,

Supreme Commander-in-Chief, Marshal of the Soviet Union.
Moscow.

ORDER OF THE DAY, OF AUGUST 24, 1944

Addressed to Army-Generals Tolbukhin and Malinovsky

TROOPS of the 3rd Ukrainian Front, with vigorous collaboration of troops of the 2nd Ukrainian Front, as a result of a skilful outflanking manœuvre and a frontal attack to-day, August 24, captured by storm the capital of the Moldavian S.S.R.—the city of Kishinev, an important communications junction and powerful strong-point in the enemy defences.

In the fighting for the capture of the city of Kishinev distinction was won by troops commanded by Lieut.-Gen. Berzarin, Lieut.-Gen. Galanin, Lieut.-Gen. Koroteyev, Maj.-Gen. Firsov, Maj.-Gen. Zherebin, Maj.-Gen. Latyshev, Maj.-Gen. Biryukov, Maj.-Gen. Seryugin, Col. Shostatsky, Maj.-Gen. Sokolov, Maj.-Gen. Syzranov, Col. Fomichenko, Maj.-Gen. Fedorovsky, Col. Khilchevsky, Col. Frolov, Col. Afonin, Maj.-Gen. Tsvetkov, Col. Chizhov and Maj.-Gen. Bunyashin; Artillerymen commanded by Maj.-Gen. of Artillery Kosenko, Maj.-Gen. of Artillery Tsikalo, Col. Pavlov, Col. Sokolov, and Lieut.-Col. Klimenkov; Tankmen commanded by Maj.-Gen. of Tank Troops Polozkov, Col. Anisimov, Col. Tyaglov and Col. Andreyev; Airmen commanded by Col.-Gen. of Aviation Sudets and Col.-Gen. of Aviation Goryunov; Sappers commanded by Col. Furs, Col. Malov and Col. Chevychelov; Signallers commanded by Col. Falin and Lieut.-Col. Sukhikh.

To commemorate the victory the units and formations which particularly distinguished themselves in the fighting for the capture of Kishinev will be recommended for conferment of the name "Kishinev" and award of Orders.

To-day, August 24, at 22.00 hours (Moscow time), the capital of our Motherland, Moscow, in the name of the Motherland, will salute with 24 artillery salvoes from 324 guns our gallant troops of the 3rd and 2nd Ukrainian Front which captured the city of Kishinev.

For excellent military operations I express my thanks to all the troops under your command which took part in the fighting for the liberation of Kishinev.

Eternal glory to the heroes who fell in the struggle for the freedom and independence of our Motherland!

Death to the German invaders!

Moscow.

J. STALIN,
*Supreme Commander-in-Chief,
Marshal of the Soviet Union.*

ORDER OF THE DAY, OF SEPTEMBER 22, 1944

Addressed to Marshal Govorov

TROOPS of the Leningrad Front, as a result of a vigorous offensive, to-day, September 22, captured the capital of the Esthonian S.S.R., the town of Tallinn (Reval), an important naval base and large port on the Baltic Sea.

In the fighting for the capture of Tallinn distinction was won by troops commanded by Lieut.-Gen. Starikov, Lieut.-Gen. Fedyuninsky, Maj.-Gen. Trubachev, the Esthonian Corps commanded by Lieut.-Gen. Pern, Lieut.-Gen. Simonyak, Maj.-Gen. Yastrebov and Col. Zinoviyev; Artillerymen commanded by Col.-Gen. of Artillery Odintsev, Maj.-Gen. of Artillery Pochitolin, Maj.-Gen. of Artillery Kazakov, Maj.-Gen. of Artillery Koznov, Col. Petrov, Col. Aru, Col. Tolkushev, Col. Skorobogatov, Col. Alferov, Lieut.-Col. Shulyaev, Lieut.-Col. Khrushch and Lieut.-Col. Popov; Tankmen commanded by Lieut.-Gen. of Tank Troops Baranov, Maj.-Gen. of Tank Troops Zazimko, Col. Kovalevsky, Lieut.-Col. Sayenkov, Lieut.-Col. Kartashev, Maj. Chernykh, Maj. Kuznetsov, Lieut.-Col. Gritsev, Lieut.-Col. Kuzin, Lieut.-Col. Kuslaku and Lieut.-Col. Chesnokov; Airmen commanded by Lieut.-Gen. of Aviation Rybalchenko, Lieut.-Gen. of Aviation Samokhin, Maj.-Gen. of Aviation Andreyev, Maj.-Gen. of Aviation Antonov, Col. Matveyev, Col. Khatminsky, Col. Greskov, Col. Kurochkin, Col. Monzhosov, Col. Chelnokov and Lieut.-Col. Mekhannikov; Sappers commanded by Lieut.-Gen. of Engineering Troops Bychevsky, Col. Akatov, Lieut.-Col. Afanasyev, Maj. Chartsov, Maj. Fomenko and Maj. Voronov and signallers commanded by Lieut.-Gen. of Signals Troops Kovalev and Col. Muzhev.

To commemorate the victory the units and formations which particularly distinguished themselves in the fighting for the capture of Tallinn will be recommended for conferment of the name "Tallinn" and award of Orders.

To-day, September 22, at 23.30 hours (Moscow time), the capital of our Motherland, Moscow, in the name of the Motherland will salute with 24 artillery salvoes from 324 guns our gallant troops of the Leningrad Front, including the Esthonian Corps commanded by Lieut.-Gen. Pern, which captured the capital of Soviet Esthonia, Tallinn.

For excellent military operations I express my thanks to all the troops under your command which took part in the fighting for the liberation of Tallinn.

Eternal glory to the heroes who fell in the struggle for the freedom and independence of our Motherland!

Death to the German invaders!

Moscow, J. STALIN,
*Supreme Commander-in-Chief,
Marshal of the Soviet Union.*

ORDER OF THE DAY, OF OCTOBER 13, 1944

Addressed to Army-Generals Maslennikov and Yeremenko

TROOPS of the 3rd Baltic Front with the direct support of the troops of the 2nd Baltic Front, developing their successful offensive, to-day, October 13, captured by storm the capital of Soviet Latvia, the city of Riga, an important naval base and powerful German defence centre in the Baltic.

In the fighting for the capture of the city of Riga distinction was won by troops commanded by Lieut.-Gen. Romanovsky, Col.-Gen. Belov, Lieut.-Gen. Zakhvatayev, Lieut.-Gen. Roginsky, Col.-Gen. Kazakov, Lieut.-Gen. Korotkov, Maj.-Gen. Rezhdestvensky, the Latvian Corps under the command of Maj.-Gen. Brantkalin, Maj.-Gen. Mikisnin, Maj.-Gen. Verzhbitsky, Maj.-Gen. Siyazov, Lieut.-Gen. Khalusin, Maj.-Gen. Bunkov, Maj.-Gen. Martynchuk, Col. Abashin, Lieut.-Gen. Khoruzenko, Maj.-Gen. Stuchenko, Maj.-Gen. Kuleshov, Maj.-Gen. Vakhrameyev, Maj.-Gen. Lyaskin, Maj.-Gen. Polyakov, Maj.-Gen. Rodionov, Col. Nikonorov, Col. Tsetlya, Col. Mironenko, Col. Barshukov, Col. Simonov, Col. Gorodetsky, Col. Dudorov, Col. Kuchenev, Maj.-Gen. Makarov, Col. Basteyev, Col. Andonyev, Maj.-Gen. Gorishnii, Maj.-Gen. Shafarenko, Maj.-Gen. Kozhin, Maj.-Gen. Burlakin, Maj.-Gen. Rebrikov, Col. Moretsky, Col. Lomov, Col. Morozov, Col. Lazarev, Maj.-Gen. Isayev, Col. Kolobutin, Maj.-Gen. Andrushchenko, Col. Chernichenko, Maj.-Gen. Gribov, Maj.-Gen. Gusarov, Maj.-Gen. Kalnin, Col. Kovalenko, Col. Kalnin, Col. Kozlov, Col. Timoshenko, Col. Porfinov and Col. Starukhin; Artillerymen commanded by Col.-Gen. of Artillery Krasnopevtsev, Col.-Gen. of Artillery Nickhov, Maj.-Gen. of Artillery Ovchinnikov, Maj.-Gen. of Artillery Yegorov, Maj.-Gen. of Artillery Levin, Col. Shlepin, Maj.-Gen. of Artillery Rogozin, Maj.-Gen. of Artillery Kharlamov, Maj.-Gen. of Artillery Kulikov, Col. Ponomarenko, Col. Pumpur, Col. Ivanov, Col. Kolosov, Col. Degtyarenko, Col. Kamorny, Lieut.-Col. Yegorov, Col. Skurikhin and Col. Ivashchenko;

Tankmen commanded by Maj.-Gen. of Tank Troops Kolosov, Maj.-Gen. of Tank Troops Shaposhnikov, Maj.-Gen. of Tank Troops Sakhno, Col. Ivanovich, Col. Ovsyannikov, Lieut.-Gen. Mzhachikh, Lieut.-Col. Fedorov, Lieut.-Col. Khomenko, Lieut.-Col. Kiselev; Airmen commanded by Lieut.-Gen. of Aviation Zhuravlev, Col.-Gen. of Aviation Naumenko, Lieut.-Gen. of Aviation Yukhanov, Lieut.-Gen. of Aviation Nestertsov, Lieut.-Gen. of Aviation Buyansky, Maj.-Gen. of Aviation Danilov, Maj.-Gen. of Aviation Lebedev, Col. Dodonov, Col. Andreyev, Lieut.-Col. Podmogilnov, Col. Polushko, Lieut.-Col. Kulish, Lieut.-Col. Zolochovsky, Maj. Yakovlev, Lieut.-Col. Rasskazov and Capt. Neuimin; Sappers commanded by Maj.-Gen. Kirchevsky, Maj.-Col. Pelipets, Maj.-Gen. of Engineering Troops Chepurov, Col. Sergeyev, Col. Poshekhontsev, Col. Rogovich, Col. Pavshuk, Col. Marchak, Lieut.-Col. Sobolev, Lieut.-Col. Anglichanov and Maj. Karpunenkov; Signallers commanded by Maj.-Gen. of Signals Troops Sinelnikov, Maj.-Gen. of Signals Troops Panin, Col. Korplyakov, Col. Sokolov, Lieut.-Col. Drobkis, Lieut.-Col. Brandelis, Lieut.-Col. Mekensin and Maj. Kosobokov.

To commemorate the victory the units and formations which particularly distinguished themselves in the fighting for the capture of the city of Riga will be recommended for conferment of the name "Riga" and award of Orders.

To-day, October 13, at 23.00 hours (Moscow time) the capital of our Motherland, Moscow, in the name of the Motherland will salute with 24 artillery salvoes from 324 guns our gallant troops of the 3rd and 2nd Baltic Fronts, including the Latvian Corps commanded by Maj.-Gen. Brantkalm, which captured the capital of Soviet Latvia, the city of Riga.

For excellent military operations I express my thanks to all the troops under your command which took part in the fighting for the liberation of the city of Riga.

Eternal glory to the heroes who fell in the fighting for the freedom and independence of our Motherland!

Death to the German invaders!

J. STALIN,

Moscow.

Supreme Commander-in-Chief.

Marshal of the Soviet Union.

SPEECH AT CELEBRATION MEETING OF THE MOSCOW
SOVIET OF WORKING PEOPLE'S DEPUTIES AND MOSCOW
PARTY AND PUBLIC ORGANIZATIONS, NOVEMBER 6, 1944

COMRADES, to-day the Soviet people celebrate the 27th Anniversary of the triumph of the Soviet Revolution in our country.

This is the fourth time that our country is observing the anniversary of the Soviet Revolution in the midst of the war against the German-fascist invaders.

This does not mean, of course, that the fourth year of the war does not differ from the preceding three years of war in its results. On the contrary, there is a radical difference between them. Whereas the preceding two years of the war were years when the German forces were on the offensive and when they advanced into the interior of our country—years when the Red Army was compelled to fight defensive actions—and whereas the third year of the war was a year of radical change on our front, when the Red Army launched powerful offensive actions, smashed the Germans in a number of decisive battles, cleared the German troops out of two-thirds of the Soviet territory and compelled them to pass to the defensive while the Red Army was still waging war on the German forces single-handed without substantial support from the Allies—the fourth year of war has been a year of decisive victories over the German forces for the Soviet armies and the armies of our Allies, a year in which the Germans, now compelled to fight on two fronts, found themselves flung back to the German frontiers.

In the upshot, this year has ended in the expulsion of the German forces from the Soviet Union, France, Belgium and Central Italy, and the transfer of hostilities to German territory.

I. GERMANY IN THE VICE BETWEEN THE TWO FRONTS.

The decisive successes of the Red Army this year and the expulsion of the Germans from Soviet territory were predetermined by the succession of shattering blows which our troops dealt the German forces, beginning as far back as last January and continuing throughout the year under review.

The first blow was struck by our troops in January this year at Leningrad and Novgorod, when the Red Army broke up the permanent German defences and flung the enemy back to the Baltic. This blow resulted in the liberation of the Leningrad Region.

The second blow was struck in February and March this year on the River Bug, when the Red Army routed the German forces and flung them beyond the Dniester. As a result of this blow the Ukraine west of the Dnieper was freed of the German-fascist invaders.

The third blow was struck in April and May this year in the area of the Crimea, when the German troops were flung into the Black Sea. As a result of this blow the Crimea and Odessa were delivered from German oppression.

The fourth blow was struck in June this year in the area of Karelia, when the Red Army routed the Finnish forces, liberated Vyborg and Petrozavodsk, and flung the Finns back into the interior of Finland. This blow resulted in the liberation of the greater part of the Karelo-Finnish Soviet Republic.

The fifth blow was struck at the Germans in June and July this year, when the Red Army utterly routed the German forces at Vitebsk, Bobruisk and Mogilev; this blow culminated in the encirclement of thirty German divisions at Minsk. As a result of this blow our forces: (a) liberated the whole of the Byelorussian Soviet Republic, (b) gained the Vistula and liberated a considerable part of our Ally Poland, (c) gained the Niemen and liberated the greater part of the Lithuanian Soviet Republic; and (d) forced the Niemen and approached the frontiers of Germany.

The sixth blow was struck in July and August this year in the area of the West Ukraine, when the Red Army routed the German forces at Lvov and flung them beyond the San and the Vistula. As a result of this blow: (a) the Western Ukraine was liberated, and (b) our troops forced the Vistula and set up a strong bridgehead beyond it west of Sandomir.

The seventh blow was struck in August this year in the Kishinev and Jassy area, when our troops utterly routed the German and Rumanian forces. It culminated in the encirclement of 22 German divisions at Kishinev, this number not including Rumanian divisions. As a result of this blow: (a) the Moldavian Soviet Republic was liberated, (b) Germany's Rumanian ally was put out of action and declared war on Germany and Hungary, (c) Germany's Bulgarian ally was put out of action and likewise declared war on Germany, (d) the road was opened for our troops to Hungary, Germany's last ally in Europe, and (e) the opportunity arose to reach out a helping hand to our Ally Yugoslavia, against the German invaders.

The eighth blow was struck in September and October this year in the Baltics, when the Red Army routed the German forces at Tallinn and Riga and drove them from the Baltics. As a result of this blow

(a) the Estonian Soviet Republic was liberated, (b) the greater part of the Latvian Soviet Republic was liberated, (c) Germany's Finnish ally was put out of action and declared war on Germany, and (d) over 30 German divisions found themselves cut off from Prussia and gripped in pincers between Tukums and Libava where they are now being hammered to a finish by our troops. (*Prolonged applause.*)

In October this year the ninth blow was launched by our troops between the Tisza and the Danube in the area of Hungary; its purpose is to put Hungary out of the war and turn her against Germany. As a result of this blow, which has not yet been consummated: (a) our forces rendered direct assistance to our Ally Yugoslavia, in driving out the Germans and liberating Belgrade; (b) our troops obtained the opportunity of crossing the Carpathians and stretching out a helping hand to our Ally the Czechoslovak Republic, part of whose territory has already been freed from the German invaders.

Lastly, at the end of October this year a blow was dealt at the German troops in Northern Finland, when the German troops were knocked out of the Pechenga area and our troops, pursuing the Germans, entered the territory of our Ally Norway. (*Applause.*)

I shall not give figures of losses in killed and prisoners which the enemy sustained in these operations, or the numbers of guns, tanks, aircraft, shells and machine-guns captured by our troops. You are probably acquainted with these figures from the Communiqués of the Soviet Information Bureau.

Such are the principal operations carried out by the Red Army during the past year, operations which have led to the expulsion of the German forces from our country.

As a result of these operations as many as 120 divisions of the Germans and their allies have been routed and put out of action. Instead of the 257 divisions that faced our front last year, of which 207 were German, we now have against our front—after all the “total” and “super-total mobilizations”—a total of only 204 German and Hungarian divisions, the German divisions numbering no more than 180.

It must be admitted that in this war Hitler Germany with her fascist army has proved to be a more powerful, crafty and experienced adversary than Germany and her army were in any war of the past. It should be added that in this war the Germans succeeded in exploiting the productive forces of nearly the whole of Europe and the quite considerable armies of their vassal states. And, if in spite of these favourable conditions for the prosecution of the war, Germany nevertheless finds herself on the brink of imminent destruction, the

explanation is that her chief adversary, the Soviet Union, has surpassed Hitler Germany in strength. (*Loud applause.*)

What must be regarded as a new factor in the war against Hitler Germany this past year is that this year the Red Army has not been operating against the German forces single-handed, as was the case in previous years, but together with the forces of our Allies. The Teheran Conference was not held for nothing. The decision of the Teheran Conference on a joint blow at Germany from west, east and south began to be carried out with astounding precision. Simultaneously with the summer operations of the Red Army on the Soviet-German Front, the Allied forces launched the invasion of France and organized powerful offensive operations which compelled Hitler Germany to wage war on two fronts. The troops and Navy of our Allies accomplished a mass landing operation on the coast of France that was unparalleled in history for scope and organization, and overcame the German fortifications with consummate skill.

Thus, Germany found herself gripped in a vice between two fronts.

As was to be expected, the enemy failed to withstand the joint blows of the Red Army and the Allied forces. The enemy's resistance was broken, and in a short time his troops were thrust out of Central Italy, France, Belgium and the Soviet Union. The enemy was flung back to the German frontiers.

There can be no doubt that without the opening of the Second Front in Europe, which holds as much as 75 German divisions, our troops would not have been able to break the resistance of the German forces and thrust them out of the Soviet Union in such a short time. But it is equally indubitable that without the powerful offensive operations of the Red Army in the summer of this year, which held as many as 200 German divisions, the forces of our Allies could not have coped so quickly with the German forces and thrust them out of Central Italy, France and Belgium.

The task is to keep Germany gripped in this vice between the two fronts.

This is the key to victory.

II. THE GREAT EXPLOIT OF THE SOVIET PEOPLE IN THE PATRIOTIC WAR

If the Red Army was able successfully to fulfil its duty to its country and drive the Germans from the Soviet land, it was because of the unreserved support it received in the rear from our whole country,

from all the peoples of our country. "Everything for the Front!" has been the watchword this year in the selfless work of all Soviet people—workers, peasants, intellectuals—as well as in the directing activities of our Government and Party bodies.

The past year has been marked by fresh successes in industry, agriculture and transport, by further progress in our war economy.

With the war in its fourth year, our factories are producing several times as many tanks, planes, guns, mortars and ammunition as in its opening phase. In the rehabilitation of agriculture the most difficult period lies behind us. With the fertile lands of the Don and Kuban restored to our country, after the liberation of the Ukraine, our agriculture is recovering rapidly from its grave losses. The Soviet railways have stood a strain that the transport of other countries would hardly be able to bear. All this indicates that the economic foundation of the Soviet State has proved to possess infinitely greater vitality than the economy of the enemy states.

The Socialist system born of the October Revolution has lent our people and our Army a great, invincible strength. Despite the heavy burden of this war, despite the temporary occupation by the Germans of very large and economically important parts of the country, the Soviet State did not reduce the supply of arms and ammunition for the front as the war proceeded, but increased it from year to year. To-day the Red Army has not less but more tanks, guns and planes than the German army. As for quality, our war material is far superior to that of the enemy in this respect. Just as the Red Army in its long and arduous single-handed struggle won military victory over the fascist forces, so the working people of the Soviet rear won an economic victory over the enemy in their long fight against Hitler Germany and her associates. (*Loud applause.*) The Soviet people have denied themselves many necessities, have consciously accepted serious material privations, in order to give more for the front. The unexampled hardships of the present war have not broken, but further tempered the iron will and fearless spirit of the Soviet people. Our people has justly won for itself the fame of a heroic nation.

Our working class gives all its strength for the cause of victory, constantly perfects the technique of production, increases the capacity of industrial enterprises, erects new mills and factories. The working class of the Soviet Union has a great labour exploit to its credit in the present war.

Our intellectuals proceed boldly along the road of innovation in the sphere of technique and culture, successfully promoting modern science, displaying the creative spirit in applying its achievements

to the production of munitions for the Red Army. By their creative work the Soviet intellectuals have made an invaluable contribution to the enemy's defeat.

An army cannot fight and win without modern arms, but neither can it fight and win without bread, without food. Thanks to the solicitude of the collective farm peasantry, the Red Army is experiencing no shortage of food in this fourth year of war. Men and women collective farmers are supplying the workers and intellectuals with food, and industry with raw materials, making it possible for factories and mills producing arms and equipment for the front to function normally. Our collective farm peasantry, actively and fully conscious of its duty to its Motherland, is helping the Red Army to achieve victory over the enemy.

The matchless labour exploits of Soviet women and of our splendid youth will go down in history, for it is they who have borne the brunt of the work in the factories and mills, on the collective and state farms.

For the sake of the honour and independence of the Motherland Soviet women, young men and girls are displaying true valour and heroism on the labour front. They have shown themselves worthy of their fathers and sons, husbands and brothers who are defending the Motherland against the German-fascist fiends.

The labour of Soviet people in the rear, like the immortal deeds of our soldiers at the front, are rooted in the fervent exploits and life-giving spirit of Soviet patriotism.

The strength of Soviet patriotism lies in the fact that it is based not on racial or nationalistic prejudices, but on the peoples' profound loyalty and devotion to their Soviet Motherland, on the fraternal partnership of the working people of all the nationalities in our country. Soviet patriotism harmoniously combines the national traditions of the peoples and the common vital interests of all the working people of the Soviet Union. Far from dividing them, Soviet patriotism welds all the nations and peoples of our country into a single fraternal family. This should be regarded as the basis of the inviolable friendship of the peoples of the Soviet Union which is growing ever stronger. At the same time the peoples of the U.S.S.R. respect the rights and independence of the peoples of foreign countries and have always shown themselves willing to live in peace and friendship with neighbouring states. This should be regarded as the basis of the contacts growing and gaining strength between our State and the freedom-loving peoples.

The reason Soviet men and women hate the German invaders is not because they are people of different nationality, but because they have brought immeasurable calamity and suffering on our people

and on all freedom-loving peoples. It is an old saying of our people: "The wolf is not beaten because he is grey, but because he ate the sheep." (*Laughter and prolonged applause.*)

The German-fascists chose the misanthropic race theory for their ideological weapon, in the expectation that by preaching bestial nationalism they would create the moral and political conditions for the domination of the German invaders over the enslaved peoples. Actually, however, the policy of racial hatred pursued by the Hitlerites has proved a source of internal weakness and international isolation for the German-fascist State. The ideology and policy of racial hatred have been a factor in the disintegration of the Hitlerite bandit bloc. It cannot be considered an accident that not only the subjugated peoples of France, Yugoslavia, Poland, Czechoslovakia, Greece, Belgium, Denmark, Norway and the Netherlands have risen against the German imperialists, but also Hitler's former vassals—the Italians, Rumanians, Finns and Bulgarians. By their savage policy, the Hitler clique have set all the peoples of the world against Germany; and the so-called "chosen German race" has become the object of universal hatred.

In this war the Hitlerites have sustained not only a military defeat, but also a moral and political defeat. The ideology of equality of all races and nations, which has taken firm root in our country, the ideology of friendship among the peoples has emerged completely victorious over the Hitlerite ideology of bestial nationalism and racial hatred.

To-day, when the Patriotic War is drawing to its victorious conclusion, the historic role of the Soviet people is revealed in its full greatness. It is universally acknowledged now that by their selfless struggle the Soviet people have saved the civilization of Europe from the fascist vandals. That is the great service rendered by the Soviet people to the victory of mankind.

III. THE CONSOLIDATION AND EXTENSION OF THE FRONT OF THE ANTI-GERMAN COALITION. THE QUESTION OF PEACE AND SECURITY

The past year has been a year of triumph of the common cause of the anti-German coalition for the sake of which the peoples of the Soviet Union, Great Britain and the United States of America have united in fighting alliance. It has been a year of consolidation of the unity of the three main Powers and of co-ordination of their actions against Hitler Germany.

The decision of the Teheran Conference on joint actions against Germany and the brilliant realization of that decision are one of the striking indications of the consolidation of the front of the anti-Hitler Coalition. There are few instances in history of plans for large-scale military operations undertaken in joint actions against a common enemy being carried out so fully and with such precision as the plan for a joint blow against Germany drawn up at the Teheran Conference.

There can be no doubt that without unity of opinion and co-ordination of actions of the three Great Powers, the Teheran decision could not have been realized so fully and with such precision. Nor on the other hand can there be any doubt that the successful realization of the Teheran decision was bound to serve to consolidate the front of the United Nations.

An equally striking indication of the solidity of the front of the United Nations is to be seen in the decisions of the Dumbarton Oaks Conference on post-war security. There is talk of differences between the three Powers on certain security problems. Differences do exist, of course, and they will arise on a number of other issues as well. Differences of opinion occur even among people in one and the same Party. They are all the more bound to occur between representatives of different States and different Parties. The surprising thing is not that differences exist, but that they are so few, and that as a rule in practically every case they are resolved in a spirit of unity and co-ordination among the three Great Powers. What matters is not that there are differences, but that these differences do not transgress the bounds of what the interests of the unity of the three Great Powers allow, and that, in the long run, they are resolved in accordance with the interests of that unity. It is known that more serious differences existed between us over the opening of the Second Front. But it is also known that in the end these differences were resolved in a spirit of complete accord. The same thing may be said of the differences at the Dumbarton Oaks Conference. What is characteristic of this Conference is not that certain differences were revealed there, but that nine-tenths of the security problems were solved at this Conference in a spirit of complete unanimity. That is why I think that the decisions of the Dumbarton Oaks Conference are to be regarded as a striking indication of the solidity of the front of the anti-German Coalition.

A still more striking indication of the consolidation of the front of the United Nations are the recent talks in Moscow with Mr. Churchill, the head of the British Government, and Mr. Eden, the British Foreign Secretary, held in an atmosphere of friendship and a spirit of perfect unanimity.

Throughout the war the Hitlerites have made frantic efforts to cause disunity among the United Nations and set them at loggerheads, to stir up suspicion and unfriendly feeling among them, to weaken their war effort by mutual distrust, and, if possible, by conflict between them as well. These ambitions of the Hitlerite politicians are easy enough to understand. For them there is no greater danger than the unity of the United Nations in the struggle against Hitlerite imperialism, and for them there would have been no greater military and political success than the splitting of the Allied Powers in their struggle against the common enemy. It is known, however, how futile the efforts of the fascist politicians to disrupt the alliance of the Great Powers have proved. That means that the alliance between the U.S.S.R., Great Britain and the United States of America is founded not on casual, transitory considerations, but on vital and lasting interests.

There can be no doubt that, having stood the strain of more than three years of war and being sealed with the blood of the nations risen in defence of their liberty and honour, the fighting alliance of the democratic powers will all the more certainly stand the strain of the concluding phase of the war. (*Prolonged applause.*)

The past year, however, has been not only a year of consolidation of the anti-German front of the Allied Powers, but also a year of its extension. It cannot be considered an accident that after Italy other allies of Germany—Finland, Rumania and Bulgaria—were also put out of the war. It should be noted that these States not only got out of the war but broke with Germany and declared war on her, thus joining the front of the United Nations. This signifies, undoubtedly, an extension of the front of the United Nations against Hitler Germany. Without doubt Germany's last ally in Europe, Hungary, will also be put out of action in the nearest future. This will mean the complete isolation of Hitler Germany in Europe and the inevitability of her collapse.

The United Nations face the victorious conclusion of the war against Hitler Germany.

The war against Germany will be won by the United Nations—of that there can no longer be any doubt to-day.

To win the war against Germany is to accomplish a great historic task. But to win the war does not in itself mean to ensure for the peoples a lasting peace and guaranteed security in the future. The task is not only to win the war but also to make new aggression and new war impossible—if not for ever, then at least for a long time to come.

After her defeat Germany will, of course, be disarmed, both in the economic and in the military political sense. It would, however, be naïve to think that she will not attempt to restore her might and launch new aggression. It is common knowledge that the German chieftains are already now preparing for a new war. History shows that a short period—some 20 or 30 years—is enough for Germany to recover from defeat and re-establish her might. What means are there to preclude fresh aggression on Germany's part, and if war should start nevertheless, to nip it in the bud and give it no opportunity to develop into a big war?

This question is the more appropriate since history shows that aggressor nations, the nations which attack, are usually better prepared for a new war than peace-loving nations which, having no interest in a new war, are usually behindhand with their preparations for it. It is a fact that in the present war the aggressor nations had an army of invasion all ready even before the war broke out—while the peace-loving nations did not even have adequate armies to cover their mobilization. One cannot regard as an accident such distasteful facts as the Pearl Harbour "incident," the loss of the Philippines and other Pacific Islands, the loss of Hong Kong and Singapore, when Japan, as the aggressor nation, proved to be better prepared for war than Great Britain and the United States of America, which pursued a policy of peace. Nor can one regard as an accident such a distasteful fact as the loss of the Ukraine, Byelorussia and the Baltics in the very first year of the war, when Germany, as the aggressor nation, proved better prepared for war than the peace-loving Soviet Union. It would be naïve to explain these facts by the personal qualities of the Japanese and the Germans, their superiority over the British, the Americans and the Russians, their foresight, etc. The reason here is not personal qualities but the fact that aggressor nations, interested in a new war, being nations that prepare for war over a long time and accumulate forces for it, usually are, and are bound to be, better prepared for war than peace-loving nations which have no interest in a new war. That is natural and understandable. This is, if you like, a law of history, which it would be dangerous to ignore.

Accordingly it is not to be denied that in the future the peace-loving nations may once more find themselves caught off their guard by aggression unless, of course, they work out special measures right now which can avert it.

Well, what means are there to preclude fresh aggression on Germany's part and, if war should start nevertheless, to stifle it at its very beginning and give it no opportunities to develop into a big war?

There is only one means to this end, apart from the complete disarmament of the aggressor nations: that is to establish a special organization made up of representatives of the peace-loving nations for the defence of peace and safeguarding of security; to put at the disposal of the directing body of this organization the necessary minimum of armed forces required to avert aggression, and to oblige this organization to employ these armed forces without delay if it becomes necessary, to avert or stop aggression, and to punish those guilty of aggression.

This must not be a repetition of the sad memory of the League of Nations, which had neither the right nor the means to avert aggression. It will be a new, special, fully authorized international organization having at its command everything necessary to defend peace and avert new aggression.

Can we expect the actions of this world organization to be sufficiently effective? They will be effective if the great Powers which have borne the brunt of the war against Hitler Germany continue to act in a spirit of unanimity and accord. They will not be effective if this essential condition is violated.

* * * * *

Comrades!

The Soviet people and the Red Army are successfully executing the tasks which have confronted them in the course of the Patriotic War. The Red Army has worthily fulfilled its patriotic duty and liberated our Motherland from the enemy: henceforth and for ever our soil is free of the Hitlerite pollution. Now remains its last, final mission: to complete, together with the armies of our Allies, the defeat of the German-fascist army, to finish off the fascist beast in its own den, and to hoist the flag of victory over Berlin. (*Loud and prolonged applause*). There is reason to expect that this task will be fulfilled by the Red Army in the none too distant future. (*Loud and prolonged applause*.)

Long live our victorious Red Army! (*Applause*.)

Long live our glorious Navy! (*Applause*.)

Long live the mighty Soviet people! (*Applause*.)

Long live our great Motherland! (*Loud applause, all stand*.)

Death to the German-fascist invaders! (*Loud and prolonged applause, shouts of "Long live Comrade Stalin!"*)

ORDER OF THE DAY, No. 220, OF NOVEMBER 7, 1944

COMRADES, Red Army men and Red Navy men, sergeants, officers and generals! Working people of the Soviet Union! Brothers and sisters forcibly driven to fascist slave labour in Germany!

In the name of the Soviet Government and our Bolshevik Party, I greet and congratulate you on the 27th Anniversary of the Great October Socialist Revolution!

We are celebrating the 27th Anniversary of the October Revolution in the midst of decisive victories of the Red Army over the enemies of our homeland. By the heroic efforts of the Red Army and the Soviet people our soil has been cleared of the German-fascist invaders.

This year the Soviet troops have rained incessant blows on the enemy, each one stronger than the last. In winter 1943-44 the Red Army scored outstanding victories in the Ukraine west of the Dnieper and routed the Germans before Leningrad. In the spring of this year the Red Army cleared the Crimea of the Germans. In the summer of 1944 our troops inflicted major defeats on the Hitlerite army, which brought about a radical change in the situation on the battle-front against the German-fascist invaders. The Red Army broke the powerful enemy defences on the Karelian Isthmus, and also between Lakes Ladoga and Onega, and knocked Finland out of the Hitlerite robber bloc. In the historic battle on Byelorussian soil the Red Army troops utterly routed the central grouping of the German troops, consisting of three armies, killing or capturing 540,000 German officers and men. In the battle in the south the Red Army surrounded and completely annihilated a group of German troops consisting of two armies; the Soviet troops wiped out or captured more than 250,000 German officers and men. The Red Army smashed the Germans in Rumania, threw them out of Bulgaria, and is battering them on the territory of Hungary. Our troops have crushed the Baltic grouping of the Hitlerite army. During the summer campaign of 1944 the Red Army has fought its way from Kishinev to Belgrade—more than 900 kilometres (550 miles), from Zhlobin to Warsaw—more than 600 kilometres (370 miles), from Vitebsk to Tilsit—550 kilometres (340 miles). The war has now been carried to the territory of fascist Germany.

In the course of the fighting, the Red Army has driven the German-fascist invaders from the entire territory of the Soviet Ukraine and Byelorussia, the Karelo-Finnish, Moldavian, Estonian, Latvian and Lithuanian Soviet Republics. The three-year-old fascist yoke on the lands of our fraternal Soviet Republics temporarily occupied by the

Germans has been thrown off. The Red Army has restored freedom to tens of millions of Soviet people. The Soviet State frontier, treacherously violated by Hitlerite hordes on June 22, 1941, has been restored along its whole length, from the Black Sea to the Barents Sea.

Thus, the past year has been the year of complete liberation of Soviet soil from the German-fascist invaders.

Having completed the liberation of their native soil from the Hitlerite pollution, the Red Army is now helping the peoples of Poland, Yugoslavia and Czechoslovakia to break the chains of fascist slavery and to regain their freedom and independence.

In the winter and summer battles of the past year the Red Army demonstrated its increased military mastery. The Red Army soldiers skilfully broke up the fortified enemy lines, swiftly pursued the enemy, surrounded and annihilated him. In offensive battles they displayed efficient co-ordination of all Soviet arms and high skill in manoeuvre. The Soviet fighters became tempered in battle, learned to rout and defeat the enemy. The Red Army has developed into a menacing force, and is superior to the enemy in its military ability and military equipment.

The strength of the Red Army is many times multiplied by the efficient work of the Soviet rear. The workers, collective farmers and intellectuals are honourably fulfilling their duty towards the Motherland, heroically overcoming the difficulties of war-time, uninterruptedly supplying the Red Army with arms, ammunition and provisions. Soviet economy is constantly increasing its strength and is rendering ever-growing assistance to the front.

The Red Army and the Soviet people are ready to strike new devastating blows at the enemy. The days of the blood-stained Hitlerite regime are numbered. Under the blows of the Red Army the fascist bloc has finally crumbled to pieces. Hitlerite Germany has lost most of its Allies. The large-scale operations in Western Europe, carried out with consummate skill by the armies of our Allies, brought about the defeat of the German forces in France and Belgium, and the liberation of these countries from fascist occupation. The allied troops have crossed Germany's western frontiers. The joint blows of the Red Army and the Anglo-American troops against Hitlerite Germany have brought nearer the hour of the victorious conclusion of the war. The encirclement of Hitlerite Germany is being completed. The den of the fascist beast has been invested on all sides, and no tricks of the enemy will save him from imminent complete defeat.

The Red Army and the armies of our Allies have taken up the initial

positions for the decisive offensive against the vital centres of Germany. Now the task is to crush Hitlerite Germany within the shortest possible time, through a vigorous onslaught of the armies of the United Nations.

Comrades, Red Army men and Red Navy men, sergeants, officers and generals! Working people of the Soviet Union!

In the Great Patriotic War we have defended our Motherland from the invaders, finally eliminated the threat of enslavement of the peoples of the U.S.S.R. by the fascist fiends, and we now stand on the eve of complete victory.

To mark the historic victories of the Red Army at the front, and the great achievements of the workers, peasants and intellectuals in the rear, in honour of the liberation of the Soviet soil from the German-fascist invaders.

I order :

To-day, on the 27th Anniversary of the Great October Socialist Revolution, at 20 hours (Moscow time), a salute of 24 artillery salvoes to be fired in Moscow, Leningrad, Kiev, Minsk, Petrozavodsk, Tallinn, Riga, Vilnius, Kishinev, Tbilisi, Sevastopol and Lvov.

Hail the 27th Anniversary of the Great October Socialist Revolution!

Long live our free Soviet country!

Long Live our Red Army and Red Navy!

Long live the great Soviet people!

Eternal glory to the heroes who fell in the struggle for the freedom and independence of our Motherland!

Death to the German invaders!

J. STALIN,

*Supreme Commander-in-Chief, Marshal of the Soviet Union.
Moscow.*

ORDER OF THE DAY, NO. 223, OF JANUARY 17, 1945

Addressed to the Commander of the Troops of the 1st Byelorussian Front, Marshal Zhukov, and to the Chief of Staff of the Front, Col.-Gen. Malinin

TROOPS of the 1st Byelorussian Front, having effected a swift out-flanking manœuvre west of Warsaw, captured the town of Zirardow, cut the roads to Sochaczow, forced the Vistula north of Warsaw and thus, having cut off Warsaw from the west, to-day, January 17, by a combined blow from north, west and south, captured the capital of our Ally Poland, the City of Warsaw—most important strategic centre of the German defence on the River Vistula.

In the fighting for the capture of the City of Warsaw, distinction was won by troops commanded by Maj.-Gen. Perkhovich, Col.-Gen. Belov, Lieut.-Gen. Poplawski of the 1st Polish Army, Lieut.-Gen. Klubnyanchenko, Maj.-Gen. Strazhevski, Lieut.-Gen. Pulko-Dmitriev, Maj.-Gen. Andreyev, Maj.-Gen. Anashkin, Maj.-Gen. Pozdnyak, Maj.-Gen. Chernov, Col. Vadrigan, Maj.-Gen. Zaikin, Col. Solovyev, Col. Pavlovsky, Col. Muzykin, Maj.-Gen. Rotkovich, Col. Shepak, Maj.-Gen. Bovzyuk, Col. Zaikovsky, Maj.-Gen. Kinovich and Col. Radzivanovich; Artillerymen commanded by Lieut.-Gen. of Artillery Kozin, Maj.-Gen. of Artillery Modzilevsky, Maj.-Gen. of Artillery Platsky, Col. Blonsky, Col. Vikentyev, Col. Skokovsky, Col. Belikhovsky, Col. Kerp, Col. Prokopovich, Col. Grekhov, Maj.-Gen. of Artillery Lyarsky, Col. Kolokolov, Col. Yalovatsky, Col. Yurgelevich, Col. Vashichev, Lieut.-Col. Mukhachev, Maj. Popovich, Lieut.-Col. Vasilchev and Lieut.-Col. Mikhailovsky; Tankmen commanded by Col.-Gen. of Tank Troops Bogdanov, Lieut.-Gen. Radzievsky, Maj.-Gen. of Tank Troops Vedeneyev, Maj.-Gen. of Tank Troops Telyakov, Lieut.-Gen. of Tank Troops Krivoshein, Maj.-Gen. of Tank Troops Kretov, Lieut.-Col. Beloborodov, Lieut.-Col. Korost, Col. Yermeyev, Col. Malyutin and Lieut.-Col. Tsurychkin; Airmen commanded by Col.-Gen. of Aviation Rudenko, Lieut.-Gen. of Aviation Brayko, Lieut.-Gen. of Aviation Savitsky, Maj.-Gen. of Aviation Karavatsky, Maj.-Gen. of Aviation Dzusov, Maj.-Gen. of Aviation Tokarev, Col. Timofeyev, Col. Belousov, Col. Sukhoryabov, Maj.-Gen. of Aviation Komarov, Col. Rasskazov, Lieut.-Col. Nakonechnik, Col. Sitkin, Col. Buzylev, Col. Berkal, Col. Ivanov, Col. Romeyko, Lieut.-Col. Sherstyuk and Lieut.-Col. Gavrilenko; Sappers commanded by Maj.-Gen. of Engineering Troops Komarov, Maj.-Gen. of Engineering Troops Bordzilovsky, Col. Belsky, Col. Kiselev, Col. Lyubansky, Col. Puzeretsky and Lieut.-Col. Khovratovich; and Signallers commanded by Col. Solovyev, Col. Suchek, Col. Zarudsky, Col. Smoli, Lieut.-Col. Vakish and Lieut.-Col. Stupachenko.

To commemorate the victory, the units and formations which particularly distinguished themselves in the fighting for the capture of the City of Warsaw will be recommended for conferment of the name "Warsaw" and award of Orders.

To-day, January 17, at 19 hours (Moscow time), the capital of our Motherland, Moscow, in the name of the Motherland, will salute with 24 salvoes from 324 guns our gallant troops of the 1st Byelorussian Front, including troops of the 1st Polish Army, which captured the capital of Poland, Warsaw.

For excellent military operations I express my thanks to all the

troops under your Command, including the troops of the 1st Polish Army, which took part in the fighting for the liberation of Warsaw.

Eternal glory to the heroes who fell in the struggle for the freedom and independence of our Motherland and our Ally Poland!

Death to the German invaders!

J. STALIN,

*Supreme Commander-in-Chief, Marshal of the Soviet Union.
Moscow.*

ORDER OF THE DAY, No. 277, OF FEBRUARY 13, 1945

Addressed to the Commander of the Troops of the 2nd Ukrainian Front, Marshal Malinovsky, and to the Chief of Staff of the Front, Colonel-General Zakharov; and to the Commander of the Troops of the 3rd Ukrainian Front, Marshal Tolbukhin, and to the Chief of Staff of the Front, Lieutenant-General Ivanov.

TROOPS of the 2nd Ukrainian Front, assisted by troops of the 3rd Ukrainian Front, after one and a half month's siege and stubborn fighting under the difficult conditions of a large city, to-day, February 13, completed the rout of the encircled enemy grouping in Budapest, and so completely captured the capital of Hungary, the city of Budapest, a strategically important German defence centre on the roads to Vienna.

During the fighting in the city of Budapest troops of the 2nd Ukrainian Front took prisoner more than 110,000 enemy officers and men, headed by the German commander of the Budapest troop grouping, Col.-Gen. Pfeffer Wildenbruch, and his staff; they also seized a large quantity of arms and various military supplies.

In the fighting for the capture of Budapest distinction was won by troops commanded by Maj.-Gen. Afonin, Lieut.-Gen. Managarov, Col.-Gen. Shumilov, Lieut.-Gen. Shlemin, Army-Gen. Zakharov, Maj.-Gen. Filippovsky, Maj.-Gen. Lukin, Maj.-Gen. Birman, Maj.-Gen. Derevyanko, Maj.-Gen. Kolchuk, Maj.-Gen. Akimenko, Maj.-Gen. Lazko, Lieut.-Gen. Rubanyuk, Maj.-Gen. Grigorovich, Maj.-Gen. Biryukov, Lieut.-Gen. Fomenko, Maj.-Gen. Bobruk, Lieut.-Gen. Petrushevsky, Lieut.-Gen. Gorshkov, Lieut.-Gen. Vostrukhov, Maj.-Gen. Sosedov, Col. Kovtun-Stankevich, Col. Peremanov, Col. Chebotarev, Col. Burik, Col. Zhashko, Maj.-Gen. Frolov, Col. Gushchin, Maj.-Gen. Nekrasov, Col. Baldynov, Maj.-Gen. Lilenkov, Col. Batluk, Maj.-Gen. Podshivalov, Col. Dunayev, Col. Smirnov, Col. Gorobets, Maj.-Gen. Karamyshev, Maj.-Gen. Afonin, Col. Drychkin, Maj.-Gen. Tsvetkov, Col. Moshlyak, Col. Kuks, Col. Parfenov, Col. Bransburg, Col. Derziyan, Maj.-Gen. Bunyashin,

Col. Chizhov, Col. Sergeyev, Col. Naidishev, Maj.-Gen. Sokolovsky, Maj.-Gen. Margelov and Col. Lirov; Artillerymen commanded by Col.-Gen. of Artillery Fomin, Maj.-Gen. of Artillery Shmakov, Maj.-Gen. of Artillery Kotikov, Col.-Gen. of Artillery Nedelin, Lieut.-Gen. of Artillery Voznyuk, Lieut.-Gen. of Artillery Petrov, Maj.-Gen. of Artillery Alexeyenko, Maj.-Gen. of Artillery Tsikalo, Maj.-Gen. of Artillery Gusarov, Maj.-Gen. of Artillery Ivanov, Col. Vorobyev, Col. Novikov, Col. Ponomarov, Col. Trekhnov, Col. Adamchik, Col. Strok, Engineer-Col. Brovarnik, Col. Mironov, Col. Koroteyev, Col. Kryzhevich, Col. Sedash, Col. Pastukh, Col. Bogushevich, Col. Lupakov, Col. Gushchin, Col. Rodin, Col. Motov, Col. Komarov, Maj.-Gen. of Artillery Ratov, Maj.-Gen. of Artillery Bobrobnikov, Col. Solovyev, Col. Grishchenko, Col. Leonov, Maj.-Gen. of Artillery Danshin, Col. Rashitsky, Col. Gotsak, Col. Salansky, Col. Lupakov, Lieut.-Col. Popolzukhin, Lieut.-Col. Matyukha, Lieut.-Col. Tarasenko, Lieut.-Col. Pavlik, Lieut.-Col. Kozyarenko, Lieut.-Col. Breyev, Maj. Borodin, Lieut.-Col. Tronev, Lieut.-Col. Samchenko, Lieut.-Col. Prokhorov, Lieut.-Col. Borodko, Lieut.-Col. Shpek and Maj. Voronov; Tankmen commanded by Col.-Gen. of Tank Troops Kurkin, Lieut.-Gen. of Tank Troops Akhmanov, Lieut.-Gen. Sviridov, Lieut.-Gen. Russiyanov, Maj.-Gen. of Tank Troops Govorunenko, Maj.-Gen. of Tank Troops Katkov, Col. Rumyantsev, Col. Tyaglov, Maj. Apolovnin, Senior Lieut. Grigoryev, Capt. Lapin and Capt. Kutuzov; Airmen commanded by Col.-Gen. of Aviation Goryunov, Col.-Gen. of Aviation Sudets, Lieut.-Gen. of Aviation Seleznev, Maj.-Gen. of Aviation Korsakov, Lieut.-Gen. of Aviation Stepichev, Lieut.-Gen. of Aviation Podgorniy, Maj.-Gen. of Aviation Kamanin, Lieut.-Gen. of Aviation Tolstikov, Lieut.-Gen. of Aviation Tupikov, Lieut.-Gen. of Aviation Loginov, Lieut.-Gen. of Aviation Shchetchikov, Maj.-Gen. of Aviation Lededev, Maj.-Gen. of Aviation Belitsky, Maj.-Gen. of Aviation Tishchenko, Col. Romanov, Col. Chanpalov, Col. Shuteyev, Col. Chizhikov, Col. Saprykin, Col. Semenenko, Col. Yudakov, Col. Tarenenko, Col. Geibo, Col. Terekhov, Col. Ivanov, Col. Nedosekin, Col. Dementyev, Col. Smirnov and Lieut.-Col. Shatilin; Sappers commanded by Lieut.-Gen. of Engineering Troops Tsirlin, Col.-Gen. of Engineering Troops Kotlyar, Maj.-Gen. of Engineering Troops Plyaskin, Maj.-Gen. of Engineering Troops Ignatov, Maj.-Gen. of Engineering Troops Vasilyev, Maj.-Gen. of Technical Troops Kosenko, Col. Malov, Maj.-Gen. of Engineering Troops Tyulev, Col. Kovalenko, Col. Pavlov, Col. Nasonov, Col. Zagrebin, Col. Baburin, Col. Kalinichenko, Col. Nominas, Lieut.-Col. Fominykh, Lieut.-Col.

Sheludko, Lieut.-Col. Yagodin, Maj. Markov, Engineer Maj. Dyukov, Lieut.-Col. Anzaurov, Maj. Fomenko, Engineer Lieut.-Col. Ragozin and Lieut.-Col. Korneyev; Signallers commanded by Lieut.-Gen. of Signals Troops Leonov, Lieut.-Gen. of Signals Troops Korolev, Col. Borisenko, Maj.-Gen. of Aviation Morozov, Lieut.-Col. Reva, Lieut.-Col. Zhits, Lieut.-Col. Agupov, Maj. Tolsty, Col. of State Security Karpov, Col. Yegorov and Col. Kotkov; and by units and ships of the Danube Naval Flotilla commanded by Rear-Admiral Kholostyakov and Captain of the 2nd Rank Derzhavin.

To commemorate the victory, the units and formations which particularly distinguished themselves in the fighting for the capture of the city of Budapest will be recommended for conferment of the name "Budapest" and for award of Orders.

To-day, February 13, at 21.00 hours (Moscow time), the capital of our Motherland, Moscow, in the name of the Motherland, will salute with 24 artillery salvos from 324 guns the gallant troops of the 2nd and 3rd Ukrainian Fronts which captured the capital of Hungary, the city of Budapest.

For excellent military operations I express my thanks to all the troops under your command which took part in the fighting for the capture of Budapest.

Eternal glory to the heroes who fell in the fighting for the freedom and independence of our Motherland!

Death to the German invaders!

J. STALIN,

*Supreme Commander-in-Chief, Marshal of the Soviet Union.
Moscow.*

ORDER OF THE DAY, No. 5, OF FEBRUARY 23, 1945

COMRADES, Red Army men and Red Navy men, sergeants, officers and generals! To-day we are celebrating the 27th Anniversary of the Red Army's existence.

Created by the great Lenin to defend our Motherland from the attack of foreign invaders, and reared by the Bolshevik Party, the Red Army has traversed a glorious path in its development. It has fulfilled with credit its historic destiny and is rightfully the beloved child of the Soviet people. In the years of civil war the Red Army defended the young Soviet State from numerous enemies. In the great battles of the Patriotic War against German invasion the Red Army has saved the peoples of the Soviet Union from German-fascist slavery,

upheld the freedom and independence of our Motherland, and helped the peoples of Europe to cast off the German yoke.

Now we are celebrating the 27th Anniversary of the Red Army in the midst of fresh historic victories over the enemy. The Red Army has not only freed its native land of the Hitlerite filth, but also hurled the enemy for many hundreds of kilometres back beyond those lines from which the Germans launched their bandit attack upon our country, carried the war into Germany's territory and now, together with the armies of our Allies, is successfully completing the rout of the German-fascist army.

In January of this year the Red Army brought down upon the enemy a blow of unparalleled force along the entire front from the Baltic to the Carpathians. On a stretch of 1,200 kilometres (750 miles), it broke up the powerful defences of the Germans which they had been building for a number of years. In the course of the offensive the Red Army by its swift and skilful actions has hurled the enemy far back to the West. In stiff fighting the Soviet troops have advanced from the frontiers of East Prussia to the lower reaches of the Vistula—270 kilometres (175 miles), from the Vistula bridgehead south of Warsaw to the lower reaches of the Oder—570 kilometres (355 miles), and from the Sandomir bridgehead into the depth of German Silesia—480 kilometres (300 miles).

The first consequence of the successes of our winter offensive was that they thwarted the Germans' winter offensive in the west, which aimed at the seizure of Belgium and Alsace, and enabled the armies of our Allies in their turn to launch an offensive against the Germans and thus link up their offensive operations in the west with the offensive operations of the Red Army in the east.

In forty days of the offensive in January-February, 1945, our troops have ejected the Germans from 300 towns, captured about 100 war plants, manufacturing tanks, aircraft, armaments and ammunition, occupied over 2,400 railway stations and seized a network of railways totalling over 15,000 kilometres (9,375 miles) in length. Within this short period Germany has lost over 350,000 officers and men in prisoners of war and not less than 800,000 in killed. During the same period the Red Army has destroyed or seized about 3,000 German aircraft, over 4,500 tanks and self-propelled guns and not less than 12,000 guns.

As a result, the Red Army has completely liberated Poland and a considerable part of the territory of Czechoslovakia, occupied Budapest and put out of the war Germany's last ally in Europe, Hungary, captured the greater part of East Prussia and German

Silesia and battled its way into Brandenburg, into Pomerania, to the approaches to Berlin.

The Hitlerites boasted that for more than a hundred years not a single enemy soldier had been within Germany's borders, and that the German army had fought and would fight only on foreign soil. Now an end has been put to this German bragging.

Our winter offensive has shown that the Red Army finds more and more strength for the solution of ever more complex and difficult problems. Its glorious soldiers have learned to batter and annihilate the enemy in accordance with all the rules of modern military science. Our soldiers, inspired by the realization of their great mission of liberation, display miracles of heroism and selflessness, and ably combine gallantry and audacity in battle with full utilization of the power and strength of their weapons. The Red Army generals and officers in masterly manner combine massed blows of powerful equipment with skilful and swift manoeuvre. In the fourth year of the war the Red Army has grown stronger and mightier than ever before, its combat equipment has become still more perfect and its fighting mastery many times higher.

Comrades, Red Army men and Red Navy men, sergeants, officers and generals!

Complete victory over the Germans is now already near. But victory never comes of itself—it is won in hard battles and in persistent labour. The doomed enemy hurls his last forces into action, resists desperately in order to escape stern retribution. He grasps and will grasp at the most extreme and base means of struggle. Therefore it should be borne in mind that the nearer our victory, the higher must be our vigilance and the heavier must be our blows at the enemy.

On behalf of the Soviet Government and our glorious Bolshevik Party, I greet and congratulate you upon the 27th Anniversary of the Red Army!

To mark the great victories achieved by the armed forces of the Soviet State in the course of the past year, I order:

To-day, February 23, on the day of the 27th Anniversary of the Red Army, at 20.00 hours (Moscow time) a salute of 20 artillery salvoes shall be fired in Moscow, Leningrad, Kiev, Minsk, Petrozavodsk, Tallinn, Riga, Vilnius, Kishinev, Tbilisi, Stalingrad, Sevastopol, Odessa and Lvov.

Long live our glorious Red Army
Long live our victorious Navy!

Long live our mighty Soviet Motherland!

Eternal glory to the heroes who fell in the struggle for the freedom and independence of our Motherland!

Death to the German invaders!

J. STALIN,

*Supreme Commander-in-Chief, Marshal of the Soviet Union.
Moscow.*

ORDER OF THE DAY, No. 334, OF APRIL 13, 1945
*Addressed to the Commander of the Troops of the 3rd Ukrainian Front,
Marshal Tolbukhin, and to the Chief of Staff of the Front, Lieutenant-
General Ivanov*

TROOPS of the 3rd Ukrainian Front, with the support of troops of the 2nd Ukrainian Front, after stiff street-fighting to-day, April 13, captured the capital of Austria, the city of Vienna, a strategically important centre of the German defences covering the routes to the southern areas of Germany.

During the course of the fighting for the approaches to Vienna and for the city of Vienna, from March 16 to April 13, the troops of the Front routed 11 German Tank Divisions, including the 6th S.S. Tank army, took prisoner more than 130,000 enemy officers and men, and destroyed or captured 1,345 tanks and self-propelled guns, 2,250 field-guns and much other military equipment.

In the fighting for the capture of the city of Vienna distinction was won by troops commanded by Col.-Gen. Glagolev, Lieut.-Gen. Zakhvatayev, Lieut.-Gen. Petrushevsky, Lieut.-Gen. Tikhonov, Lieut.-Gen. Utvenko, Lieut.-Gen. Mironov, Lieut.-Gen. Bakhtin, Lieut.-Gen. Rubanyuk, Maj.-Gen. Dereyanko, Maj.-Gen. Rozhdstvensky, Maj.-Gen. Biryukov, Maj.-Gen. Kozak, Maj.-Gen. Bobruk, Maj.-Gen. Shkodunovich, Maj.-Gen. Afonin, Maj.-Gen. Tsvetkov, Maj.-Gen. Panchenko, Maj.-Gen. Dznakhua, Maj.-Gen. Makarenko, Maj.-Gen. Bogdanov, Maj.-Gen. Denissenko, Maj.-Gen. Afonin, Col. Drychkin, Col. Chizhov, Col. Kuks, Col. Bransburg and Col. Vindushev; Ships and units of the Red Banner Danube Flotilla commanded by Rear-Admiral Kholostyakov, Lieut.-Capt. Barbotko and Lieut.-Capt. Veliki; Artillerymen commanded by Col.-Gen. of Artillery Nedelin, Lieut.-Gen. of Artillery Voznyuk, Lieut.-Gen. of Artillery Nesteruk, Maj.-Gen. of Artillery Tsikalo, Maj.-Gen. of Artillery Breshnev, Maj.-Gen. of Artillery Gussev, Maj.-Gen. of Artillery Ratov, Maj.-Gen. of Artillery Velikolepov, Maj.-Gen. of Artillery Alexeyenko, Col. Fedorov, Col. Yeletsyky,

Col. Slepakov, Col. Borissenko, Col. Pleshakov, Col. Chernov, Col. Prokhotov, Col. Bulakhtik, Col. Leonov, Col. Lupanov, Lieut.-Col. Zhkutsky, Maj. Voronov and Maj. Glebov; Tankmen commanded by Col.-Gen. of Tank Troops Kravchenko, Lieut.-Gen. of Tank Troops Volkov, Lieut.-Gen. Russyanov, Lieut.-Gen. Sviridov, Lieut.-Gen. of Tank Troops Akhmanov, Maj.-Gen. of Tank Troops Pavelkin, Maj.-Gen. of Tank Troops Stromberg, Maj.-Gen. of Tank Troops Savelyev, Maj.-Gen. Govorunenko, Col. Tyaglov, Col. Budnikov, Col. Rummyantsev, Col. Obd-lenkov, Col. Ivanov, Col. Sakharov, Lieut.-Col. Savelyev and Lieut.-Col. Siman; Airmen commanded by Col.-Gen. of Aviation Sudets, Col.-Gen. of Aviation Goryunov, Lieut.-Gen. of Aviation Zlatotsvetov, Lieut.-Gen. of Aviation Tolstikov, Lieut.-Gen. of Aviation Seleznev, Lieut.-Gen. of Aviation Stepichev, Lieut.-Gen. of Aviation Podgorny, Maj.-Gen. of Aviation Korsakov, Maj.-Gen. of Aviation Belitsky, Maj.-Gen. of Aviation Tishchenko, Maj.-Gen. of Aviation Kamanin, Col. Nedosekin, Col. Dementyev, Col. Smirnov, Col. Ivanov, Col. Terekhov and Lieut.-Col. Shatilin; Sappers commanded by Col.-Gen. of Engineering Troops Kotlyar, Col. Malov, Col. Vodovatov, Col. Fadeyev, Col. Pavlov, Col. Zgrebin, Col. Baburin, Col. Nominas, Lieut.-Col. Korneyev, Lieut.-Col. Matuzas and Lieut.-Col. Galukovich; Signallers commanded by Lieut.-Gen. of Signals Troops Korolev, Maj.-Gen. of Aviation Morozov, Col. Shervud, Col. Kotkov, Col. Yegorov and Lieut.-Col. Sukhikh.

To commemorate the victory, the units and formations which particularly distinguished themselves in the fighting for the capture of the city of Vienna will be recommended for conferment of the name "Vienna" and award of Orders.

To-day, April 13, at 21.00 hours (Moscow time), the capital of our Motherland, Moscow, in the name of the Motherland, will salute with 24 artillery salvos from 324 guns the gallant troops of the 3rd Ukrainian Front which captured the city of Vienna.

For excellent military operations I express my thanks to all the troops under your command which took part in the fighting for the liberation of Vienna.

Eternal glory to the heroes who fell in the fighting for the freedom and independence of our Motherland!

Death to the German invaders!

J. STALIN,

*Supreme Commander-in-Chief, Marshal of the Soviet Union.
Moscow.*

SPEECH OF APRIL 21, 1945, ON THE OCCASION OF
THE SIGNING OF THE TREATY OF FRIENDSHIP
MUTUAL ASSISTANCE AND POST-WAR COLLABORATION
BETWEEN THE U.S.S.R. AND THE POLISH REPUBLIC

MR. PRESIDENT, Mr. Prime Minister, Gentlemen!

I believe that the Treaty of Friendship, Mutual Assistance and Post-war Collaboration between the Soviet Union and Poland which we have just signed is of great, historic importance.

The importance of this Treaty consists in the first place in that it signifies the radical turn of relations between the Soviet Union and Poland towards alliance and friendship, a turn which took shape in the course of the present liberation struggle against Germany and which is now being formally consummated in this Treaty.

It is known that relations between our countries in the course of the past five centuries have abounded in elements of mutual estrangement, unfriendliness, and not infrequently in open military conflicts. Such relations weakened both our countries and strengthened German imperialism.

The importance of the present Treaty consists in that it puts an end to these old relations between our countries, nails down the lid of the coffin over them, and creates a real basis for replacement of the old unfriendly relations by relations of alliance and friendship between the Soviet Union and Poland.

In the course of the last two World Wars the Germans succeeded in making use of the territory of Poland as a corridor for invasion of the East and as a springboard for attack on the Soviet Union. This became possible because at that time there were no friendly allied relations between our countries. The former rulers of Poland did not want to have relations of alliance with the Soviet Union. They preferred a policy of playing about between Germany and the Soviet Union. And of course they played themselves into trouble. . . . Poland was occupied, her independence abolished, and as a result of this whole ruinous policy German troops were enabled to appear at the gates of Moscow.

The importance of the present Treaty consists in that it puts an end to the old and ruinous policy of playing about between Germany and the Soviet Union, and replaces it by a policy of alliance and friendship between Poland and her Eastern neighbour.

Such is the historic importance of the Treaty between Poland and the Soviet Union on Friendship, Mutual Assistance and Post-War Collaboration which we have just signed.

No wonder, therefore, that the peoples of our countries impatiently await the signing of this Treaty. They feel that this Treaty is a pledge of the independence of new, democratic Poland, a pledge of her might and her prosperity.

But matters are not confined to that. The present Treaty has also great international significance. As long as there existed no alliance between our countries Germany was able to take advantage of the absence of a united front between us, she could oppose Poland to the Soviet Union and vice versa, and thus beat them one at a time. Things changed radically after the alliance between our countries took shape. Now it is no longer possible to oppose our countries to each other. Now there exists a united front between our countries from the Baltic to the Carpathians against the common enemy, against German imperialism. Now one may confidently say that German aggression is besieged from the East. Undoubtedly if this barrier in the East is supplemented by a barrier in the West, that is, by alliance between our countries and our Allies in the West, one may safely say that German aggression will be curbed, and that it will not be easy for it to run loose.

No wonder, therefore, that the freedom-loving nations, and in the first place the Slav nations, impatiently await the conclusion of this Treaty, for they see that this Treaty signifies a strengthening of the united front of the United Nations against the common enemy in Europe.

Therefore, I do not doubt that our Allies in the West will welcome this Treaty.

May free, independent, democratic Poland live and prosper!

May her Eastern neighbour—our Soviet Union—live and prosper!

Long live the alliance and friendship between our countries!

MESSAGE BROADCAST ON THE EVENING OF APRIL 27, 1945, TO THE OFFICERS AND MEN OF THE RED ARMY AND OF THE ARMIES OF THE ALLIES ON THE OCCASION OF THEIR LINKING UP ON GERMAN SOIL

In the name of the Soviet Government, I address you, commanders and men of the Red Army, and of the armies of our Allies.

The victorious armies of the Allied Powers, waging a war of liberation in Europe, have routed the German troops and linked up on the territory of Germany.

Our task and our duty are to complete the destruction of the enemy,

to force him to lay down his arms and surrender unconditionally. The Red Army will fulfil to the end this task and this duty to our people and to all freedom-loving peoples.

I greet the valorous troops of our Allies, which are now standing on the territory of Germany shoulder to shoulder with the Soviet troops, and which are full of determination to carry out their duty to the end.

ORDER OF THE DAY, No. 20, OF MAY 1, 1945

COMRADES, Red Army men and Red Navy men, sergeants and petty officers, officers of the Army and Navy, generals and admirals!

Working people of the Soviet Union!

To-day our country is celebrating the First of May—the international festival of the working people.

This year, the peoples of our Motherland are celebrating May Day under conditions of the victorious termination of the Great Patriotic War.

The hard times when the Red Army fought back the enemy troops at Moscow and Leningrad, at Grozny and Stalingrad, are gone—never to return. Now our victorious troops are battering the enemy's armed forces in the centre of Germany, far beyond Berlin, on the River Elbe.

Within a short time Poland, Hungary, the greater part of Czechoslovakia, a considerable part of Austria, and her capital Vienna, have been liberated.

At the same time the Red Army has captured East Prussia, home of German imperialism, Pomerania, the greater part of Brandenburg and the main districts of Germany's capital Berlin, having hoisted the banner of victory over Berlin.

As a result of these offensive battles fought by the Red Army, within three to four months the Germans have lost over 800,000 officers and men in prisoners and about one million in killed. During the same period the Red Army troops have captured or destroyed up to 6,000 enemy aircraft, up to 12,000 tanks and self-propelled guns, over 23,000 field guns and enormous quantities of other armaments and equipment.

It should be noted that in these battles Polish, Yugoslav, Czechoslovak, Bulgarian and Rumanian divisions successfully advanced against the common enemy side by side with the Red Army.

As a result of the Red Army's shattering blows, the German

Command was compelled to transfer dozens of divisions to the Soviet-German Front, baring whole sectors on other fronts. This circumstance helped the forces of our Allies to develop their successful offensive in the West. Thus by simultaneous blows at the German troops from East and West, the troops of the Allies and the Red Army were able to cut the German forces into two isolated parts and to effect a junction of our troops and the Allied troops in a united front.

There can be no doubt that this circumstance means the end of Hitlerite Germany.

The days of Hitlerite Germany are numbered. More than half of her territory is occupied by the Red Army and by the troops of our Allies. Germany has lost the most important, vital districts. The industry remaining in the Hitlerites' hands cannot supply the German army with sufficient quantities of armaments, ammunition and fuel. The man-power reserves of the German army are depleted. Germany is completely isolated and stands alone, if her ally Japan is not counted.

In search of a way out from their hopeless plight, the Hitlerite adventurers resort to all kinds of tricks, down to flirting with the Allies, in an effort to cause dissension in the Allied camp. These fresh knavish tricks of the Hitlerites are doomed to utter failure. They can only accelerate the disintegration of the German troops.

Mendacious fascist propaganda intimidates the German population by absurd tales, alleging that the Armies of the United Nations wish to exterminate the German people. The United Nations do not set themselves the task of destroying the German people. The United Nations will destroy fascism and German militarism, will severely punish war criminals, and will compel the Germans to compensate damage they have caused to other countries. But the United Nations do not molest and will not molest Germany's civilian population if it honestly fulfils the demands of the Allied military authorities.

The brilliant victories won by the Soviet troops in the Great Patriotic War have demonstrated the colossal might of the Red Army and its high military skill. In the progress of the war our Motherland has come to possess a first-rate regular army, capable of upholding the great Socialist achievements of our people and of securing the State interests of the Soviet Union.

Despite the fact that the Soviet Union has for nearly four years been waging war on an unparalleled scale demanding colossal expenditures, our Socialist economic system is gaining strength and developing, while the economy of the liberated regions, plundered and ruined by the German invaders, is successfully and swiftly reviving. This is the result of the heroic efforts of the workers and collective farmers,

of the Soviet intellectuals, of the women and the youth of our country, inspired and guided by the great Bolshevik Party.

The world war unleashed by the German imperialists is drawing to a close. The collapse of Hitlerite Germany is a matter of the nearest future. The Hitlerite ringleaders, who imagined themselves rulers of the world, have found themselves ruined. The mortally wounded fascist beast is breathing its last. One thing is now required—to deal the death-blow to the fascist beast.

Fighting men of the Red Army and Navy!

The last storming of the Hitlerite lair is on. Set new examples of military skill and gallantry in the concluding battles. Smite the enemy harder, skilfully break up his defence, pursue and surround the German invaders, give them no respite until they cease resistance.

Beyond the border of our native land be especially vigilant!

Uphold the honour and dignity of the Soviet soldier as heretofore!

Working people of the Soviet Union!

Increase your all-round assistance to the front by persistent and indefatigable work. Swiftly heal the wounds inflicted on our country by the war, raise still higher the might of our Soviet State!

Comrades, Red Army men and Red Navy men, sergeants and petty officers, officers of the Army and Navy, generals and admirals!

Working people of the Soviet Union!

On behalf of the Soviet Government and of our Bolshevik Party, I greet and congratulate you upon the First of May.

In honour of the historic victories of the Red Army at the front and of the great achievements of the workers, collective farmers and intellectuals in the rear, to mark the international festival of the working people, I hereby order:

To-day, on May 1, a salute of 20 artillery salvoes shall be fired in the capitals of Union Republics—Moscow, Kiev, Minsk, Baku, Tbilisi, Erevan, Ashkabad, Tashkent, Stalinabad, Alma-Ata, Frunze, Petrozavodsk, Kishinev, Vilnius, Riga and Tallinn—as well as in the hero-cities of Leningrad, Stalingrad, Sevastopol and Odessa.

Long live our mighty Soviet Motherland!

Long live the great Soviet people, the people victorious!

Long live the victorious Red Army and Navy!

Eternal glory to the heroes who fell in the battles for the freedom and independence of our Motherland!

Forward to the final rout of Hitlerite Germany!

J. STALIN,

Moscow.

*Supreme Commander-in-Chief,
Marshal of the Soviet Union.*

ORDER OF THE DAY, No. 359, OF MAY 2, 1945

Addressed to the Red Army and Navy

TROOPS of the 1st Byelorussian Front commanded by Marshal of the Soviet Union Zhukov, with the support of troops of the 1st Ukrainian Front commanded by Marshal of the Soviet Union Koniev, after stiff street-fighting, have completed the rout of the Berlin German troop grouping and, to-day, May 2, completely captured the capital of Germany, Berlin—centre of German imperialism and hotbed of German aggression.

The Berlin garrison which defended the city, with the Chief of the Defence of Berlin, Artillery General Weidling, and his staff at the head, to-day at 3 p.m. ceased resistance, laid down their arms and surrendered.

By 9 p.m. on May 2 our troops had taken prisoner more than 70,000 German officers and men in Berlin.

In the fighting for the capture of Berlin distinction was won by troops commanded by Army-Gen. Sokolovsky, Col.-Gen. Kuznetsov, Col.-Gen. Chuikov, Col.-Gen. Berzarin, Lieut.-Gen. Luchinsky, Lieut.-Gen. Perkhovich, Lieut.-Gen. Lukyanchenko, Col.-Gen. Cherevichenko, Lieut.-Gen. Kazankin, Lieut.-Gen. Glazunov, Lieut.-Gen. Ryzhev, Lieut.-Gen. Zherebin, Lieut.-Gen. Rosly, Lieut.-Gen. Tereshkov, Lieut.-Gen. Andreyev, Maj.-Gen. Bukshtynovich, Maj.-Gen. Belyavsky, Maj.-Gen. Kushchev, Maj.-Gen. Barinov, Maj.-Gen. Perevertkin, Maj.-Gen. Rogachevsky, Maj.-Gen. Batitsky, Maj.-Gen. Shvarev, Maj.-Gen. Firsov, Maj.-Gen. of Artillery Khetagurov, Maj.-Gen. Shatilov, Maj.-Gen. Shafarenko, Maj.-Gen. Smirnov, Maj.-Gen. Kozin, Maj.-Gen. Karapetyan, Maj.-Gen. Krasilnikov, Maj.-Gen. Shugayev, Maj.-Gen. Zaleznyuk, Maj.-Gen. Stankevsky, Maj.-Gen. Pankov, Maj.-Gen. Glebov, Maj.-Gen. Bakanov, Maj.-Gen. Duka, Maj.-Gen. Seryugin, Maj.-Gen. Gasparyan, Maj.-Gen. Sokolov, Maj.-Gen. Dorofeyev, Maj.-Gen. Syzranov, Maj.-Gen. Galai, Maj.-Gen. Shkrylev, Maj.-Gen. Safaryan, Maj.-Gen. Vydrigan, Maj.-Gen. Bevzyuk, Maj.-Gen. Myshkin, Maj.-Gen. Korchikov, Maj.-Gen. Turchinsky, Maj.-Gen. Vekhin, Col. Antonov, Col. Ivanov, Col. Gervasiyev, Col. Solovyev, Col. Shishkov, Maj.-Gen. Fomishenko, Col. Smolin, Col. Vorobyev, Col. Marchenko, Col. Negoda, Col. Assafov, Col. Shatskov and Col. Rybalko; Tankmen commanded by Col.-Gen. of Tank Troops Bogdanov, Col.-Gen. of Tank Troops Katukov, Col.-Gen. Rybalko, Col.-Gen. Lelyushenko, Col.-Gen. of Tank Troops Novikov, Lieut.-Gen. of Tank Troops Orel, Lieut.-Gen. Radzievsky, Lieut.-Gen. of Tank Troops Krivoshein, Lieut.-

Gen. of Tank Troops Sukhov, Lieut.-Gen. of Tank Troops Belov, Lieut.-Gen. Shalin, Maj.-Gen. of Tank Troops Bakhmetyev, Maj.-Gen. of Tank Troops Upman, Maj.-Gen. of Tank Troops Saminov, Maj.-Gen. of Tank Troops Stogny, Maj.-Gen. Dremov, Lieut.-Gen. of Tank Troops Kirichenko, Maj.-Gen. of Tank Troops Yushchuk, Maj.-Gen. of Tank Troops Mitrofanov, Maj.-Gen. of Tank Troops Vainrub, Maj.-Gen. of Tank Troops Anisimov, Col. Nikolayev and Col. Babadzanyan; Artillerymen commanded by Col.-Gen. of Artillery Kazakov, Col.-Gen. of Artillery Varentsov, Lieut.-Gen. of Artillery Shamshin, Lieut.-Gen. of Artillery Pozharsky, Lieut.-Gen. of Artillery Ignatov, Lieut.-Gen. of Artillery Romanovich, Lieut.-Gen. of Artillery Kozhukhov, Maj.-Gen. of Artillery Morozov, Maj.-Gen. of Artillery Kossenko, Maj.-Gen. of Artillery Plaskov, Maj.-Gen. of Artillery Frolov, Maj.-Gen. of Artillery Likhachev, Maj.-Gen. of Artillery Snegurov, Maj.-Gen. of Artillery Lebedevsky, Maj.-Gen. of Artillery Koznov, Maj.-Gen. of Artillery Bryukhanov, Maj.-Gen. of Artillery Shlepin, Maj.-Gen. of Artillery Bogdan, Maj.-Gen. of Artillery Seredin, Maj.-Gen. of Artillery Kamensky, Maj.-Gen. of Artillery Polosukhin, Maj.-Gen. of Artillery Petropavlovsky, Maj.-Gen. of Artillery Nikolsky, Maj.-Gen. of Artillery Mentyukov, Maj.-Gen. of Artillery Dobrinsky, Maj.-Gen. of Artillery Krasnokutsky, Col. Fantalov, Col. Shasko, Col. Korchagin, Col. Overchenko and Col. Lyubimov; Ships and units of the Red Banner Dnieper Flotilla commanded by Rear-Admiral Grigoryev and Captain of the First Rank Lyalko; Airmen commanded by Chief Marshal of Aviation Novikov, Chief Marshal of Aviation Golovanov, Col.-Gen. of Aviation Rudenko, Col.-Gen. of Aviation Krasovsky, Lieut.-Gen. of Aviation Savitsky, Lieut.-Gen. of Aviation Beletsky, Lieut.-Gen. of Aviation Tupikov, Lieut.-Gen. of Aviation Loginov, Lieut.-Gen. of Aviation Shchetchikov, Lieut.-Gen. of Aviation Nestertsev, Lieut.-Gen. of Aviation Ryazanov, Lieut.-Gen. of Aviation Utin, Maj.-Gen. of Aviation Tokarev, Maj.-Gen. of Aviation Krupsky, Maj.-Gen. of Aviation Korevatsky, Maj.-Gen. of Aviation Skok, Maj.-Gen. of Aviation Sidnev, Maj.-Gen. of Aviation Dzusov, Maj.-Gen. of Aviation Slyusarev, Maj.-Gen. of Aviation Babaluyev, Maj.-Gen. of Aviation Arkhangelsky, Col. Nikishin, Col. Stalin, Col. Pokryshkin, Maj.-Gen. of Aviation Komarov and Col. Alexandrovich; Sappers commanded by Col.-Gen. of Engineering Troops Proshlyakov, Col.-Gen. of Engineering Troops Galitsky, Maj.-Gen. of Engineering Troops Marin, Maj.-Gen. of Engineering Troops Tkachenko, Maj.-Gen. of Engineering Troops Furs, Maj.-Gen. of Engineering Troops Kharchevin, Maj.-Gen. of Engineering Troops Zhirov, Col. Belsky, Col.

Kamenchuk and Col. Poluektov; Signallers commanded by Lieut.-Gen. of Signals Troops Maximenko, Lieut.-Gen. of Signals Troops Bulychev, Maj.-Gen. of Signals Troops Akimov, Col. Cherkasov, Col. Falin, Col. Smoliy, Col. Zakharov, Col. Plotkin, Col. Borissov, Col. Ostrenko, Lieut.-Col. of State Security Vakish and Lieut.-Col. of State Security Grib.

To commemorate the victory, the units and formations which particularly distinguished themselves in the fighting for the capture of Berlin will be recommended for conferment of the name "Berlin" and award of Orders.

To-day, May 2, at 23.30 hours (Moscow time), in honour of the historic event of the capture of Berlin by Soviet troops, the capital of our Motherland, Moscow, in the name of the Motherland, will salute with 24 artillery salvoes from 324 guns the gallant troops of the 1st Byelorussian and 1st Ukrainian Fronts.

For excellent military operations I express my thanks to the troops of the 1st Byelorussian and 1st Ukrainian Fronts which took part in the fighting for the capture of Berlin.

Eternal glory to the heroes who fell in the fighting for the freedom and independence of our Motherland!

Death to the German invaders!

J. STALIN,

Moscow.

*Supreme Commander-in-Chief,
Marshal of the Soviet Union.*

ORDER OF THE DAY, No. 368, OF MAY 9, 1945
Addressed to the Commander of the Troops of the 1st Ukrainian Front, Marshal Koniev, and to the Chief of Staff of the Front, Army-General Petrov

TROOPS of the 1st Ukrainian Front, as a result of a vigorous night manœuvre by tank formations and infantry, crushed the enemy's resistance and to-day May 9, liberated from the German invaders the capital of our Ally, Czechoslovakia, Prague.

In the fighting for the liberation of Prague distinction was won by troops commanded by Col.-Gen. Gordov, Col.-Gen. Pukhov, Col.-Gen. Zhadov, Lieut.-Gen. Malandin, Maj.-Gen. Lyamin, Col. Belinsky, Lieut.-Gen. Cherokhmanov, Lieut.-Gen. Puzikov, Maj.-Gen. Bakanov, Col. Ivanov, Maj.-Gen. Orlov, Maj.-Gen. Danilovsky, Maj.-Gen. Volkovich and Maj.-Gen. Krasnov; Tankmen commanded by Col.-Gen. Lelyushenko, Col.-Gen. Rybalko, Col.-Gen.

of Tank Troops Novikov, Maj.-Gen. of Tank Troops Upman, Maj.-Gen. of Tank Troops Bakhmetyev, Lieut.-Gen. of Tank Troops Belov, Maj.-Gen. of Tank Troops Yermakov, Col. Pushkarev, Col. Khmulov, Maj.-Gen. of Tank Troops Mitrofan, Maj.-Gen. of Tank Troops Novikov, Lieut.-Gen. of Tank Troops Sukhov, Lieut.-Col. Karnyushkin, Lieut.-Col. Shcherbak, Col. Selivanchik, and Col. Turkin; Artillerymen commanded by Col.-Gen. of Artillery Varentsov, Lieut.-Gen. of Artillery Kozhukov, Maj.-Gen. of Artillery Dobrinsky, Maj.-Gen. of Artillery Krasnokutsky, Maj.-Gen. of Artillery Mentyu-kov, Maj.-Gen. of Artillery Nikolsky, Lieut.-Gen. of Artillery Kubeyev, Maj.-Gen. of Artillery Poluyektov, and Maj.-Gen. of Artillery Dzevul-sky; Airmen commanded by Col.-Gen. of Aviation Krassovsky, Lieut.-Gen. of Aviation Ryazanov, Col. Nikishin, Maj.-Gen. of Aviation Archangelsky, Maj.-Gen. of Aviation Zabaluev, Maj.-Gen. of Aviation Shusarev, and Lieut.-Gen. of Aviation Utin; Sappers commanded by Col.-Gen. of Engineering Troops Galitsky, Col. Poluektov, Col. Kamenchuk, Col. Kordyukov, Lieut.-Col. Skorokhod, and Lieut.-Col. Sobolev; and Signallers commanded by Lieut.-Gen. of Signals Troops Bulychev, Maj.-Gen. of Signals Troops Akhremenko, Col. Ostrenko, Col. Borisov, Col. Simkhovich, and Col. Bogomolov.

To commemorate the victory the units and formations which particularly distinguished themselves in the fighting for the liberation of Prague shall be recommended for conferment of the name "Prague" and for award of Orders.

To-day, May 9, at 20.00 hours (Moscow time) the capital of our Motherland, Moscow, on behalf of the Motherland shall salute with 24 artillery salvoes from 324 guns the gallant troops of the 1st Ukrainian Front which liberated the capital of our Ally Czechoslovakia, Prague.

For excellent military operations I express my thanks to the troops under your command which took part in the fighting for the liberation of Prague.

Eternal glory to the heroes who fell in the fighting for the freedom and independence of our Motherland and of the Czechoslovak Republic!

Death to the German invaders!

Moscow.

J. STALIN,
*Supreme Commander-in-Chief,
Marshal of the Soviet Union.*

ORDER OF THE DAY, No. 369, OF MAY 9, 1945

Addressed to the Red Army and Navy

On May 8, 1945, in Berlin, representatives of the German High Command signed the instrument of unconditional surrender of the German armed forces.

The Great Patriotic War which the Soviet people waged against the German-fascist invaders is victoriously concluded. Germany is utterly routed.

Comrades, Red Army men, Red Navy men, sergeants, petty officers, officers of the army and navy, generals, admirals and marshals, I congratulate you upon the victorious termination of the Great Patriotic War.

To mark complete victory over Germany, to-day, May 9, the day of victory, at 22.00 hours (Moscow time), the capital of our Motherland, Moscow, on behalf of the Motherland, shall salute the gallant troops of the Red Army, the ships and units of the Navy, which have won this brilliant victory, by firing thirty artillery salvos from one thousand guns.

Eternal glory to the heroes who fell in the fighting for the freedom and independence of our Motherland!

Long live the victorious Red Army and Navy!

J. STALIN,

Moscow.

*Supreme Commander-in-Chief,
Marshal of the Soviet Union.*

VICTORY SPEECH

Broadcast from Moscow at 20.00 hours (Moscow time) on
May 9, 1945

COMRADES! Men and women compatriots!

The great day of victory over Germany has come. Fascist Germany, forced to her knees by the Red Army and the troops of our Allies, has acknowledged herself defeated and declared unconditional surrender.

On May 7 the preliminary protocol on surrender was signed in the city of Rheims. On May 8 representatives of the German High Command, in the presence of representatives of the Supreme Command of the Allied troops and the Supreme Command of the Soviet Troops, signed in Berlin the final act of surrender, the execution of which began at 24.00 hours on May 8.

Being aware of the wolfish habits of the German ringleaders, who regard treaties and agreements as empty scraps of paper, we have no reason to trust their words. However, this morning, in pursuance of the act of surrender, the German troops began to lay down their arms and surrender to our troops *en masse*. This is no longer an empty scrap of paper. This is actual surrender of Germany's armed forces. True, one group of German troops in the area of Czechoslovakia is still evading surrender. But I trust that the Red Army will be able to bring it to its senses.

Now we can state with full justification that the historic day of the final defeat of Germany, the day of the great victory of our people over German imperialism has come.

The great sacrifices we made in the name of the freedom and independence of our Motherland, the incalculable privations and sufferings experienced by our people in the course of the war, the intense work in the rear and at the front, placed on the altar of the Motherland, have not been in vain, and have been crowned by complete victory over the enemy. The age-long struggle of the Slav peoples for their existence and their independence has ended in victory over the German invaders and German tyranny.

Henceforth the great banner of the freedom of the peoples and peace among peoples will fly over Europe.

Three years ago Hitler declared for all to hear that his aims included the dismemberment of the Soviet Union and the wresting from it of the Caucasus, the Ukraine, Byelorussia, the Baltic lands and other areas. He declared bluntly: "We will destroy Russia so that she will never be able to rise again." This was three years ago. However, Hitler's crazy ideas were not fated to come true—the progress of the war scattered them to the winds. In actual fact the direct opposite of the Hitlerites' ravings has taken place. Germany is utterly defeated. The German troops are surrendering. The Soviet Union is celebrating Victory, although it does not intend either to dismember or to destroy Germany.

Comrades! The Great Patriotic War has ended in our complete victory. The period of war in Europe is over. The period of peaceful development has begun.

I congratulate you upon victory, my dear men and women compatriots!

Glory to our heroic Red Army, which upheld the independence of our Motherland and won victory over the enemy!

Glory to our great people, the people victorious!

Eternal glory to the heroes who fell in the struggle against the enemy and gave their lives for the freedom and happiness of our people!

REPLY TO "THE TIMES" MOSCOW CORRESPONDENT'S QUESTION CONCERNING THE 16 ARRESTED POLISH DIVERSIONISTS

Letter from Mr. Ralph Parker, The Times correspondent in Moscow, to the Chairman of the Council of People's Commissars of the U.S.S.R., J. V. Stalin :

THE foreign Press has printed a report that several Poles who, according to the recent Tass statement, had been arrested on the charge of the organization and carrying out of diversionist actions in the rear of the Red Army, in reality were members of a delegation invited to conduct negotiations with the Soviet authorities. It has also been reported that this group of Poles includes democratic leaders whose opinion on the formation of the future Polish Government would have made a valuable contribution to the formation of such a Government. It has also been reported that by the arrest of these Poles the Soviet Government undermines confidence in the measures adopted in the Crimea, and hinders the formation of a new Polish Provisional Government.

Would you care to make a statement on this question in order to clarify public opinion, which is interested in this question ?

Yours respectfully,

Moscow, May 11, 1945.

RALPH PARKER.

J. V. Stalin addressed the following reply to Mr. Parker :

I HAVE somewhat delayed my answer, but this is understandable if one keeps in mind how busy I am.

1. The arrest of the sixteen Poles in Poland headed by the well-known diversionist General Okulicki has no connection with the question of the reconstruction of the Polish Provisional Government. These "gentlemen" were arrested in accordance with the law protecting the Red Army rear from diversionists—a law similar to the British

Defence of the Realm Act. The arrests were carried out by Soviet military authorities in accordance with an agreement concluded between the Polish Provisional Government and the Soviet Military Command.

2. It is untrue that the arrested Poles were invited for negotiations with the Soviet authorities. The Soviet authorities do not and will not conduct negotiations with those who break the law on the protection of the Red Army rear.

3. As far as the question of the reorganization of the Polish Provisional Government itself is concerned, it can only be solved on the basis of the Crimea decisions, because no deviation from these decisions can be permitted.

4. I think the Polish question can be solved by agreement between the Allies only if the following elementary conditions are observed:

a.—if in the reconstruction of the Polish Provisional Government the latter is recognized as the basic core of the future Polish Government of National Unity, similar to the case of Yugoslavia, where the National Liberation Committee was recognized as the basic core of the United Yugoslav Government;

b.—if as a result of the reconstruction a Government is created in Poland which will pursue a policy of friendship with the Soviet Union, and not the policy of the "*cordon sanitaire*" against the Soviet Union;

c.—if the question of the reconstruction of the Polish Government is resolved together with the Poles who now have ties with the Polish people, and not without them.

Yours respectfully,

Moscow, May 18, 1945.

J. STALIN.

TOAST TO THE RUSSIAN PEOPLE AT A RECEPTION
IN HONOUR OF RED ARMY COMMANDERS GIVEN
BY THE SOVIET GOVERNMENT IN THE KREMLIN ON
THURSDAY, MAY 24, 1945

COMRADES! Permit me to propose one more, last toast.

I should like to propose a toast to the health of our Soviet people, and in the first place, the Russian people. (*Loud and prolonged applause and shouts of "Hurrah."*)

I drink in the first place to the health of the Russian people because it is the most outstanding nation of all the nations forming the Soviet Union.

I propose a toast to the health of the Russian people because it has won in this war universal recognition as the leading force of the Soviet Union among all the peoples of our country.

I propose a toast to the health of the Russian people not only because it is the leading people, but also because it possesses a clear mind, a staunch character, and patience.

Our Government made not a few errors, we experienced at moments a desperate situation in 1941-1942, when our Army was retreating, abandoning our own villages and towns of the Ukraine, Byelorussia, Moldavia, the Leningrad Region, the Baltic area and the Karelo-Finnish Republic, abandoning them because there was no other way out. A different people could have said to the Government: "You have failed to justify our expectations. Go away. We shall install another government which will conclude peace with Germany and assure us a quiet life." The Russian people, however, did not take this path because it trusted the correctness of the policy of its Government, and it made sacrifices to ensure the rout of Germany. This confidence of the Russian people in the Soviet Government proved to be that decisive force which ensured the historic victory over the enemy of humanity—over fascism.

Thanks to it, to the Russian people, for this confidence!

To the health of the Russian people! (*Loud and prolonged applause.*)

ORDER OF THE DAY, No. 370, OF JUNE 22, 1945

To commemorate the victory over Germany in the Great Patriotic War, I order a parade of troops of the Army in the Field, of the Navy and of the Moscow Garrison—a Victory Parade—to be held in the Red Square in Moscow on June 24, 1945.

The following units are to take part in the parade: combined regiments of the fronts, a combined regiment of the People's Commissariat for Defence, a combined regiment of the Navy, the military academies, military schools and troops of the Moscow Garrison.

The Victory Parade is to be taken by my Deputy, Marshal of the Soviet Union Zhukov.

Marshal of the Soviet Union Rokossovsky will command the Parade.

I entrust the general direction of the organization of the Parade to the Commander of the troops of the Moscow Military Area and Commander of the Moscow Garrison, Col.-Gen. Artemyev.

Moscow.

J. STALIN,
*Supreme Commander-in-Chief,
Marshal of the Soviet Union.*

THE END